

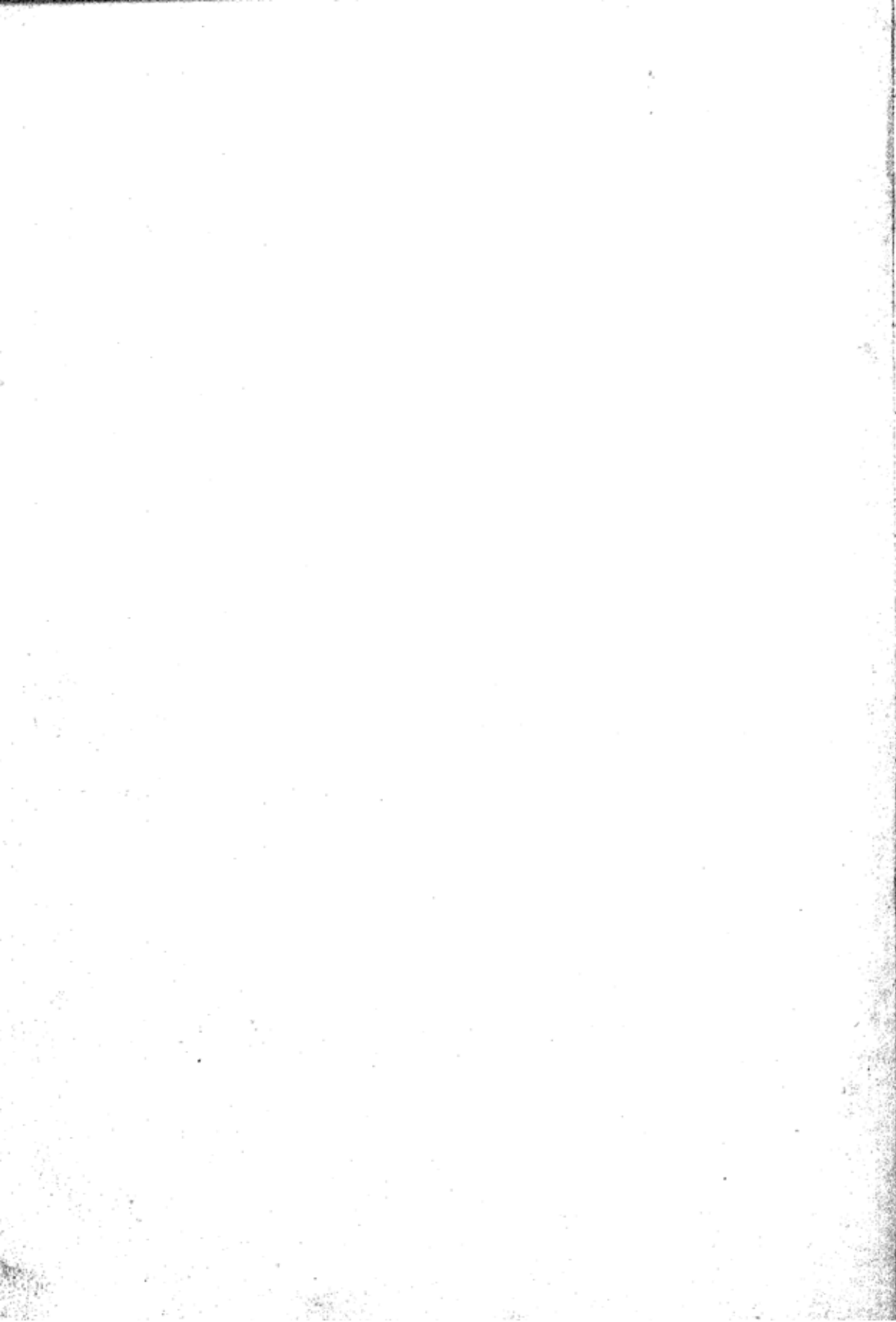
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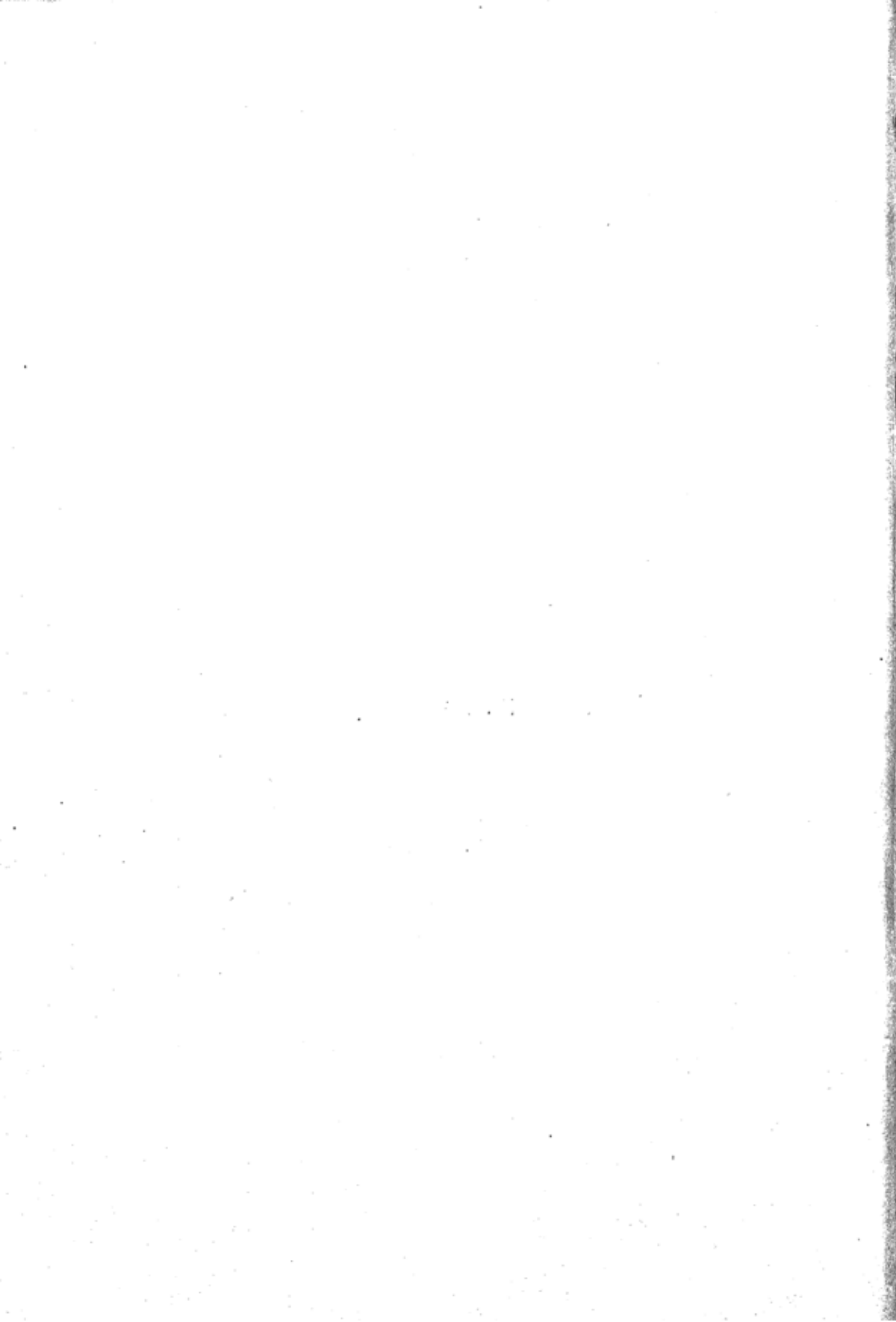
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PĀṆINĪYA ŚIKSĀ

OR

THE ŚIKSĀ VEDĀṄGA ascribed to PĀṆINI

(being the most ancient work on Indo-Aryan Phonetics).

Critically edited in all its Five Recensions with an
Introduction, Translation and Notes together
with its two Commentaries

BY

MANOMOHAN GHOSH, M.A., *Kavyatirtha*,

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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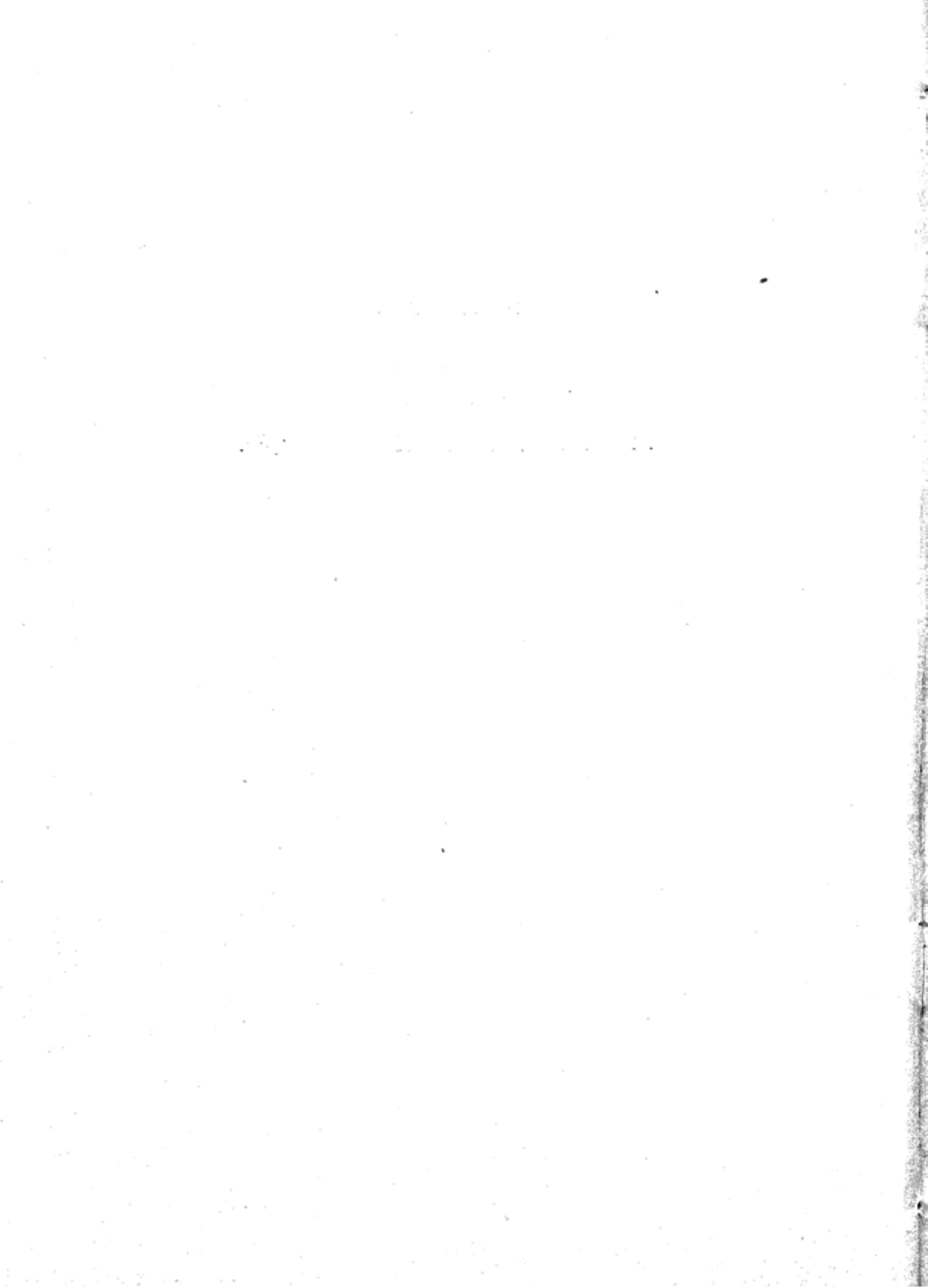
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PREFACE

The *Pāṇinīya-Sikṣā* ascribed to Pāṇini, the great grammarian of ancient India, is known as the *Sikṣā-Vedāṅga*. It was eighty years ago that Weber published a critical edition of this work in his *Indische Studien* (IV). This edition has long been out of print and besides this later researches and accession to new materials have made it necessary that the work should be edited afresh. Hence the present edition has been prepared. The importance of this work has been discussed in the Introduction. But one aspect of the critical study of the text of the *Pāṇinīya-Sikṣā* which has not been noticed there is that from such a study we can more or less clearly understand how literary documents of ancient India like the present text have in course of their transmission to the posterity added to their bulk through interpolation in successive periods. *Eighteen* couplets in which the original *Pāṇinīya-Sikṣā* was in all probability composed had added to them in the present day text no less than *forty-two* couplets. This fact puts us on our guard against taking every syllable of an ancient work as of equal antiquity and we are inclined to turn our attention to higher criticism which has been attempted in this volume. The present editor however does not claim infallibility for himself and will consider himself to be amply paid for his labours if scholars will give him the credit for an honest attempt in pursuance of a well-known principle.

For various reasons the printing of this volume took nearly three years during which some amount of work related to the subject has been done. I have tried as far as has been possible for me to utilize or notice such work in the list of *addenda*. If however any important writing in this line has escaped my notice I should apologise to its author.

My best thanks are due to the authorities of the Calcutta University for giving me every facility in the work and to my esteemed friend Pandit Amarendramohan Tarkatirtha of the Skt. MSS. Department, Calcutta University, for kindly helping me in reading the proof of the text portion, and also to the authorities of the India Office, the State Library of Berlin, of Munich, the University of Lund for lending MSS. or supplying rotographic copy of them. It is with great pleasure that I should mention here that the rotograph of the Śikṣā-pañjikā supplied by the University of Lund came as a gift to the Calcutta University. And finally I should offer my most grateful thanks to my teacher Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji for his kindly making valuable suggestions while he went through this volume in MS. as well as in proof. It however goes without saying that for all views expressed in the work the responsibility remains entirely mine.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
June, 1938

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MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Thick types (Devanāgarī) in pp. 3-6, 35-44 and *asterisks* in pp. 7-34 and *Arabic numerals* on the left of all these pages will indicate the position of the reconstructed text in different recensions.

An *asterisk* will indicate a spurious passage. When put before the first hemistich the asterisk relates to the entire couplet and it sometimes relates to an entire couplet together with a third hemistich. An Arabic numeral appearing on the left margin between a pair of double *daṇḍas* (e.g., ॥13॥) signifies the position of the passage in the reconstructed text. A number prefixed to hemistich relates to it and the hemistich which precedes it; numbers with 'a' and 'b' after them indicate respectively the first and the second hemistich *only* of a couplet in the reconstructed text.

Bigger types in the Translation have been for the transcription and translation of passages of the PŚ., which have been considered original, and in Notes on them also such types have been used.

A.C.—After Christ.

AP.—The Agni-Purāṇa recension of the Pāṇinīya-Sikṣā.

B.C.—Before Christ.

DPS.—Dayānanda's Phonetic Sūtras.

Geschichte—Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band III
(or Vol. III).

HOS.—Harvard Oriental Series.

IAnt.—Indian Antiquary.

IHQ.—Indian Historical Quarterly.

JAOS.—Journal of American Oriental Society.

JBRAS.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society.

JDL.—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.

JRAS.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Māṇḍ. Ś.—Māṇḍūkī Sikṣā.

Misra.—Pāṇinīya Sikṣā, ed. by Pandit Kālīprasād Miśra, Benares,
Sam. 1990.

Nār. Ś.—Nāradya-Sikṣā.

Pñj.—The (Sikṣā) Pañjikā recension of the Pāṇinīya Sikṣā.

Prk.—The (Sikṣā) Prakāśa recension of the Pāṇinīya Sikṣā.

PŚ.—Pāṇinīya-Sikṣā as reconstructed by the Editor (pp. 1-3).

RPr.—The Rgveda-Prātisākhya.

RT.—The Rk-tantra-Vyākaraṇa.

Sarmā.—Pāṇinīya Sikṣā, ed. Rudraprasād Sarmā, Benares, 1937.

SBE. (S.B.E.)—Sacred Books of the East.

SS.—Sikṣā-saṃgraha.

Taitt. Pr.—Taittirīya Prātisākhya.

Taitt. Up.—Taittirīya Upaniṣad.

TPr.—Taittirīya Prātisākhya.

Tripāṭhī—Pāṇiniya Śikṣā, ed. Nārāyan Datta Tripāṭhī, Benares, Sam. 1990.

Vāj. Pr.—Vājasaneyī Prātisākhya.

VPr. — , , , ,

Yaj.—The Yajus recension of the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā.

Yv. Ś.—The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā.

ZDMG.—Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

उ.सू.—Uṇādi-Sūtras.

ऋक्—R̥gveda.

ऋ. प्रा.—R̥gveda-Prātisākhya.

गीता—Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā.

छान्दो.—Chāndogya Upaniṣad.

ना. शि.—Nāradiya Śikṣā.

प्रा.—Pāṇiniya Aṣṭādhyāyī.

बृ. भा.—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad

मनु—Manusmṛti.

N.B.—References to the RPr. (ऋ. प्रा.) are always to the edition of *Paśupati Śāstri*.

INTRODUCTION

1

1. *The Present Edition.* Among the large number of works known as the Śikṣās¹ the Indian tradition² accords the position of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā to the one connected with the name of Pāṇini (see §28). Weber in his edition of the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā (Indische Studien, IV) has however remained silent on this point. In his History of Sanskrit Literature too he did not give any decisive opinion in the matter, but later on Max Müller positively denied the validity of the traditional notion about the PŚ. being a Vedāṅga.³ Since the days of Max Müller his view has been accepted by almost all the scholars without the slightest protest. Prof. Liebhich may be said to have been a notable exception in this matter⁴; for he maintains that the PŚ. though late in its present form, is old in its contents. This view however has received very scanty attention from scholars who are otherwise very careful. Even two very recent writers who touched the subject, Mr. C. V. Vaidya and Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, have followed the view of Max Müller. Of these two the opinion of Mr. Vaidya deserves special mention because he is frankly against what he considers to be a late date (c. 1000 B. C.) for the R̥gveda suggested by Max Müller, and is for

¹ Śrī-Yājñavalkyaḍi-Maharṣi-praṇītaḥ 'Śikṣā-saṅgrahaḥ,' Benares, 1893; Siddheshwar Varma, 'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians,' London, 1929, pp. 29 ff.

² 'Pāraśari Śikṣā,' 78, in the ŚS.; 'Prasthāna-bheda' in Weber's Indische Studien, I, p. 16; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Durga in the Nirukta-vṛtti. ed. Bombay Skt Series, p. 24.

³ 'History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature?', p. 145.

⁴ B. Liebhich, 'Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft,' II, Heidelberg, 1919, p. 20; M. Winternitz 'History of Indian Literature,' Vol. I, p. 285, footnote 3; also Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Vol. III, p. 382, footnote 1.

placing this work as early as 4000 B. C.¹ But Mr. Vaidya does not make any effort to explain why the PŚ. should not be considered a genuine Vedāṅga belonging to the great antiquity he assigns to Pāṇini² and Yāska.³ Dr. Siddheshwar Varma however gives some arguments to prove the lateness of the PŚ. But these, as we shall see later on (§§ 25 ff.) do not seem to be based on all available materials which might have given him a different view about the age and character of the work.⁴ For he has known the PŚ. in *three* recensions only, while the work itself exists in no less than what may be called *five* recensions which read together critically are to give one a better idea about the age and character of the text. There is yet another scholar who not only considers the PŚ. to be a late work and hence not a Vedāṅga, but accords the same position to a Sūtra work ascribed, on very questionable grounds to Pāṇini.⁵ We shall see later on (§§ 31-32) why this view is untenable, and this will bring us face to face with the text-history of the PŚ. for which a critical edition of the work is essentially necessary. Hence no apology need be offered for undertaking such an edition of the work together with that of the two commentaries attached to its two (late) recensions. Reasons which have led us to believe that the PŚ. is the original Vedāṅga Śikṣā will be discussed later on (§§ 28-30) and as such it is to be placed as early as Pāṇini who in all likelihood was its author (see § 33). This being the oldest treatise on the phonetics of Old Indo-Aryan—and possibly of Indo-European—deserves to be studied carefully for the history of the Vedic as well as Sanskrit sounds.

¹ History of Sanskrit Literature, Poona, 1930, Vol. I, Section I, pp. 25-40.

² *Op. cit.*, Sec. III, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5 f.

⁴ The main arguments which Dr. Siddheshwar Varma adduces to show that the PŚ. is a not the Vedāṅga Śikṣā are as follows : (1) The PŚ. has no claim to be a *mūlāgama* or source of the Prātiśākhya, (2) Piṅgala, and not Pāṇini, is the author of the PŚ. The first argument has been refuted in §§ 28-30, and the second in § 33.

⁵ Dr. Raghu Vira, 'Discovery of the Lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini' in the JRAS., 1931, pp. 653 ff.

2. *The Critical Apparatus.* It has been mentioned above (§1) that the PŚ. is available in five recensions. Each of these recensions again is available in MSS. or printed texts with more or less varying readings. Hence before reconstructing the PŚ. on the basis of different recensions we shall have to find out the most representative text of each version and its age and special characteristics. For this purpose we have consulted various MSS. and printed texts and are giving below the results together with a description of them all.

(a) *The Agni Purāṇa Recension.* The Agni Purāṇa contains the shortest available text of the PŚ., which consists of 21½ couplets only. Among these AP. 1b-10, 17-21c correspond to PŚ. 1-3a, 10, 4b-7a, 8-13a, 15a, 16b, 17, 18 (see below the text of the AP. recension). The AP. recension omits one complete couplet (14) and halves of four others (7b, 13b, and 15b-16a) which the PŚ. in all likelihood contained. Grounds for such an assumption will be discussed below in the Notes (26a, 14, 23 and 30). AP. 1a, 11-16, which are late additions to the PŚ. will also be discussed in the Notes (2, 18, 48a, 49a and 38a). Besides these twenty couplets and a half the AP. recension includes the following which may justify us to assume the existence of the AP. 3b-4a.

raṅgaś ca khe araṃ proktaḥ hakāram pañcamair yuktaḥ |
antaḥsthābhiḥ samāyuktaḥ 'aurasya' 'kaṇṭhya' eva saḥ ||

In this couplet we meet with the AP. 3b (italicised in the above quotation) and the two fragments of the second half of the same (put within the inverted commas). The reading *vakṣye mukhe' kṣaram* (for *raṅgaś ca khe araṃ*) recorded by some MSS. seems to rule out the possibility of *yathā saurāṣṭrikā nārī*, etc. (Yaj. 6), ever occurring in the place of the AP. 3b-4a. This interpolation seems to be the work of some late scribe who under the influence of the Yaj. recension supplied the reading *raṅgaś ca*, etc., to the erroneously repeated AP. 3b-4a. unfortunately without any advantage. From a consideration of the possible

age of the Agni Purāṇa (c. 800 A.C.) later than Pāṇini by much more than 1000 years we may be justified to make an assumption about its defective tradition.

The representative text of the AP. recension of the PŚ. has been obtained from the following materials :

M. The Agni Purāṇa edited by Rajendra Lal Mitra and published in the 'Bibliotheca Indica' Series.

P. The Agni Purāṇa published from the Ānandāśrama, Poona. MSS. *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha* and *ṇa* used for this text have been indicated by *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* and *e* respectively.

V. The Agni Purāṇa with Bengali translation published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.

(b) *The Pañjikā Recension.* As the commentary called the Śikṣā-Pañjikā does not contain the particular text, it follows, in a complete form, the Pñj. recension of the PŚ. had to be reconstructed to some extent conjecturally from the *pratīkas* of passages handled in the commentary. The compiler of the catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the India Office Library, London, has wrongly considered this to be identical with the Yaj. recension. But on comparing the latter (Yaj. rec.) with this we find that in some important points the two differ. For example, unlike the Yaj. the Pñj. contains the hemistich *anusvāra-yamānām ca nāsikā sthānam ucyate* (PŚ. 14a) and *upadhmānīya ūṣmā ca jīhvā-mūlīya-nāsike* (PŚ. 14b) and in this respect it falls in a line with the Prk. recension. Two passages (PŚ. 9, 10) though not explained in the Pañjikā seems to have existed in the text used by its author¹ (see Notes 26a and 28) and for this reason they have been included in the reconstructed text. Except these two, the Pñj. consists of 21½ couplets of which 4-19, correspond to PŚ. 1-18, respectively. On comparing

¹ The name of the author does not occur in any MS. But Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Shivadatta in his introduction to the Siddhānta-kaumudī (ed. Veṅkateśvara, Bombay, says *asya śikṣāyāḥ Rāghavācārya-kṛtāḥ bhāṣyam jāgartīti dik.* Now in some MSS. the Pañjikā has been called Bhāṣya (p. 17). It may be that Rāghavācārya is the author of the Pañjikā.

the Pñj. with the Prk. recension it appears that the latter is an inflated version of the former. There are no sufficient data to suggest any precise date for the Pñj. recension. But it appears by no means recent. For the Pañjikā quotes from one of the old authorities named Audavraji of whose exact time we have no information; but as he is mentioned by the Nār. Ś.,¹ a work, except for its interpolated passages, is as old as 200 B. C., he was probably older than this time. He has also been mentioned in the Rk-tantra Vyākaraṇa (Sāmaveda Prātiśākhya)² and in the Śikṣā-prakāśa,³ another commentary to the PŚ. There being no mention of Audavraji in phonetical works which are palpably very late we may assume that at their time his work was lost and the author of the Pañjikā flourished possibly earlier than a time when A.'s work was still available, and such was the case with the authors of the available Rk-tantra Vyākaraṇa and the Śikṣā-prakāśa.⁴ Now the time for the Śikṣā-prakāśa being placed tentatively between 1000 A. C. and 1300 A. C. we may consider the lower limit to the date of the Pñj. recension as the 1200 A. C. Along with this should be considered the fact that the Agni Purāṇa recension can be placed at the earliest in 800 A. C. Thus it appears that the Pñj. recension existed between 800 and 1200 A. C. The representative text of this recension of the PŚ. has been worked out from the following MSS. and printed text.

A¹. Manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 2834.

A². MS. of the Pañjikā in the same Society, No. 1169.

A³. MS. of the Pañjikā in the same Society, No. 4180 C.

B. The rotograph of a MS. of the same procured by the Calcutta University from the State Library of Berlin.

¹ Ed. SS., II, 8. 5.

² Ed. Suryakanta Sastri, Sūtra 60.

³ Ed. SS., p. 388. See also the same edited below.

⁴ See below on the Prak. recension.

C. The text of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā together with the PŚ. in its Rk recension printed in Benares, 1929 (Haridas Skt. Series No. 10) [Mr. Suryakanta Sastri mentions one such text printed in Benares in 1387 (*op. cit.*, introd., p. 33n.)]. But we have not seen it. From Mr. Sastri's quotation it seems to agree with HL.].

H. A manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from the Royal Library of Munich. This was used by M. Haug.

I. A manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from the India Office Library.

L. The rotograph of the Śikṣā Pañjikā presented to the Calcutta University by the University of Lund.

(c) *The Prakāśa Recension.* As was the case with the Pañjikā recension this also had to be reconstructed from the *pratīkas* of the passages explained in the commentary called the Śikṣā-prakāśa. Having had to depend on rather imperfect materials we can never be sure that these restored texts were actually before their respective commentators. The most we can claim for these texts, is that they surely contained these particular passages in approximately the same form. But in case of the Prk. recension this claim can be admitted only subject to the limitation that the actual order in which some of the couplets occurred is not known. The Prk. passages, of the position of which in the text we are not sure, have been marked with an asterisk in the Table C, showing their relative position. This recension but for the inclusion of one hemistich (Prk. 22a) and the exclusion of one couplet (Yaj. 34) and the different order in which the different passages of the Yaj. recension have been arranged, is similar to the latter. But the confused manner in which the passages are available in the Yaj. recension gives us grounds to assume that the same were reduced to writing from memory at a time later than the composition of the Śikṣā-prakāśa and hence we have taken it as a separate recension.

The date of the Prakāśa recension may be considered to be later than that of the Pñj. for the simple reason that the

former is much longer than the latter and the increase in bulk has needed some time. But the Śikṣā Prakāśa may not be earlier than the 10th century. For he seems to quote a long passage *verbatim* from the commentary of Viṣṇumitra on the Ṛk Prātiśākhya (*vide infra*). Now this Viṣṇumitra seems to be a predecessor or at best a contemporary of Uvāta (1100 A.C.). Besides this, from the introduction to the Śikṣā Prakāśa we learn that the anonymous author wrote a commentary to Piṅgala's metrics. Now the only commentary available for the Chandah-sūtras of Piṅgala is by Halāyudha¹ who was the minister of the king Lakṣmaṇa Sena (c. 1200 A.C.) of Bengal. Hence we may tentatively assign the Prk. recension to a time about 1200 A.C. It may be that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (c. 1500 A.C.), author of the Prasthāna-bheda described this recension as the pañcakhanda-ātmikā and it is sure he did not mean the Ṛk recension, for that is ekādaśa-khanda-ātmikā (see the text below).

The text of the Śikṣā-prakāśa or the Prakāśa Recension has been edited from :

L. The rotograph of a MS. from the University of Lund.

Be. A version of the Prakāśa printed in the Śikṣā-saṃgraha from Benares.

(d) *The Yajus Recension.* This recension of the PŚ. has been carefully edited by Weber in his Indische Studien, IV, pp. 345 ff., on the basis of two MSS., B and W, of which W is dated Samvat 1696. Occasional help from three MSS. of the Ṛk. recension C, D and L has also been taken in this. For all practical purposes this edition being faultless we have adopted it leaving out its minor details. Special characteristics of this recension have already been indicated (§ 2c).

(e) *The Ṛk Recension.* This recension has also been edited by Weber (*loc. cit.*) on the basis of three MSS., C, D and L. Omitting some minor details we have adopted this edition after comparing it with the following :

¹ Weber places him in the second half of the 10th century. See Ind. Stud., VIII, p. 198; also Winternitz, Geschichte, Bd. III, p. 27.

Ch. The PŚ. published along with the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from Chowkhamba, Benares, 1929.

This recension is scarcely much older than the 18th century ; for MSS. of this used by Weber are all later than Samvat 1833 and we have come across no earlier MS. This is the most inflated version of the PŚ. and contains nearly 60 stanzas. Only 17½ among these may be taken as genuine. These are Rk 4-11, 13, 16-19, 22-23, 38-40a corresponding to PŚ. 1-8, 9, 11-13, 14a, 15, 16a, 16b-18, respectively. The nature and source of the remaining 42 couplets have been discussed below (§ 3).

3. *Reconstruction.* From a very close study of its five recensions eighteen only of the couplets appear to constitute the original PŚ. Only fourteen among them, however, occur in all the recensions,¹ while the remaining couplets do not so occur. But on internal evidence they appear to be organically connected with the fourteen couplets common to all recensions and hence surely occurring in the original PŚ. Problems connected with them have been discussed in detail in Notes given along with the translation of the PŚ. Sources of more than half of the remaining forty-two couplets which we consider to be later additions to the text of the PŚ. have been traced to different late Śikṣā² works. Of the remaining twenty couplets the source of which we could not explore, at least eight (Rk 1-3, and 56-60, and passages corresponding to them in other recensions), can probably be credited to the editors of different recensions. The remaining twelve were, in all likelihood, taken also from some late Śikṣās lost to us. Grounds on which we have considered a passage or group of passages spurious or later additions have also been discussed in Notes. From

¹ See the conspectus of Text-Units of the different recensions given at the end of this Introduction.

² Cases of later Śikṣās can to some extent be compared with those of the later Upaniṣads (cf. Winternitz, *History of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 239). In order to give authenticity to their own theory or practice later writers on Vedic phonetics have called their works Śikṣās. These late works are nevertheless important for the study of Indo-Aryan phonetics.

a study of the interpolated passages it appears that the custodians of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā have at different times made desperate efforts to preserve this small treatise consisting of only eighteen couplets, from extinction. Lest it should fall out of use before later works on the subject, which for the time being gave better guidance to the reciter of the Vedic texts they culled some new materials from these and tagged them on to the PŚ. in different relays. Even this method though resorted to sometimes were not exclusively followed. To supplement this they put it along with other works on similarly important subjects in the body of a big compilation like the Agni Purāṇa. A case which seems to be analogous to this is the alleged interpolation of the Bhagavad-Gītā in the corpus of the Mahābhārata. For a tabular statement of the growth¹ of PŚ. showing the distribution of genuine and interpolated passages in its different recensions,¹ see Table A.

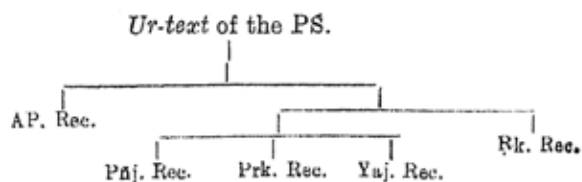
Table A.

| Recensions. | Total Number of Hemistichs. | Interpolation. | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---------|------------------|
| | | Total. | Traced. | Untraced. |
| Agni Purāṇa | 43 | 13 | 12 | 1 (—1 editorial) |
| Pañjikā | 50 | 14 | 2 | 12 (—12 „) |
| Prakāśa | 68 | 33 | 20 | 13 (—13 „) |
| Yajuṣ śākhā ² | 70 | 35 | 20 | 15 (—12 „) |
| Ṛk śākhā | 120 | 85 | 44 | 41 (—16 „) |

¹ Compare with this the growth of the text of the Nirukta (Prof. L. Sarup's Introduction, pp. 19-20; S. Sastri, Ṛk-tantra, Lahore, 1933, Introduction, pp. 45, 46) and of the Uṇādi-Sūtras (Prof. Goldstücker, Pāṇini : his place in Skt. Literature, London, 1861, pp. 181, 170; Reprint from Allahabad, 1914, pp. 130, 189; S. Sastri, *ibid*).

² For the meaning of the Śākhā see below (§§ 18ff.).

From a study of the above table as well as the contents of the different recension we can suggest the mutual relation of the different recensions as follows :



SIX VEDAṄGAS

4. Before taking up the history of growth and development of individual Vedāṅgas it would be proper to enquire into conditions which made it obligatory for the Vedic priests to admit as a part of the sacred lore six subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the recitation, the understanding or the proper sacrificial employment of the Vedic hymns. Materials for such a study are indeed very poor. We have few relics of that early age when the Vedic seers were composing songs of praise or adoration to their deities with the least idea of their later complicated use in various rituals and ceremonies. Hence, how and when the simple utterances of the early Indo-Aryans who entered India most probably sometime after the beginning of the second millennium B. C.,¹ began to be considered sacred and meant specially to be used in sundry rituals, will probably remain a mystery for all time to come. But it will not be out of place to make here the following *a priori* considerations.

5. As a great many of the subsequent ramifications observable in the Vedic cult (*e. g.*, those in the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras) have been found to be non-existent among Indo-European people of other countries it may be assumed that a great part of them owe their origin to the influence of some widespread pre-Vedic cult or cults of India.² In case of the Old Indo-Aryan

¹ Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 299ff., 310; ZDMG., 1934, pp. *23*.*24* Thumb-Hirt, 'Handbuch des Skt.' I. Teil: Grammatik, Zweite Auflage, §27 and *Nachtrag* to the same. Prof. A. B. Keith holds a different view. See 'The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads,' H O S., 1925, p. 7.

² S. K. Chatterji, 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' pp. 26, 31f. also cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

language a similar pre-Aryan influence has already been postulated to account for the development of cerebral sounds as well as a portion of the Old Indo-Aryan vocabulary.¹ If such an influence played any considerable part in giving shape to the Vedic religion it may be said to have practically finished a great part of its work about 1000 B. C.² as far as the Indian Midland was concerned ; for a very long time must have been necessary for the pre-Aryan Indians to get reconciled with the hostile new-comers and ultimately to accept their faith and culture. Now the ethnic constitution of the modern Indians who profess adherence to the Vedas shows that a great majority of them has come from non-Aryan stocks. Thus one will probably be justified to assume here a conversion—may be unconscious—of the non-Aryan people to Vedic religion, which was responsible for such a state of things ; and such a conversion in all likelihood began to progress with considerable force about 1000 B. C. when the Vedic people and their ways were in all probability not only no longer displeasing but also was becoming attractive to the pre-Aryan people of the land, and a progressive section of them had already been Aryanised as far as their religion was concerned. And even some blood-mixture with the new-comers is much likely to have occurred at this stage. It is quite possible that the six Vedāṅgas partly grew up and partly took shape under the circumstances demanded by an effort on the part of these progressive non-Aryans and their descendants to acquire thoroughly the Vedic culture, a great deal of which was essentially connected with religious practices.

6. It is conceivable that these neo-Vedic people consisting of Aryanised non-Aryans as well as mixed Aryans took more than ordinary interest in Aryan faith and culture, and

¹ S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f., 170f.

² Oldenberg places the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (of course old ones) between 900 B. C.-700 B. C. (Buddha, : his Life, his Doctrines, etc., Calcutta, 1927, pp. 14-15). The Brāhmaṇas are characteristically the product of that period in which primitive Indo-Aryans were very much influenced by pre-Aryans of India.

later on their descendants began to get ashamed of their extra-Aryan origin and wished very much to pass themselves off as thorough-bred Aryans.¹ But a great obstacle in their way was indeed the colour of their skin as well as their language and customs. For the time being difficulties seemed insuperable, but they did not remain so for a long time. Means were gradually discovered for concealing their ethnic and cultural origin.

7. The famous *Puruṣa-sūkta* (*R̥gveda*, X. 90) having been revealed (c. 1000 B. C.) the question of colour became explicable without reference to any ethnic mixture though such a thing had in a manner had to be recognized later in a rather queerly formulated *Varṇasaṅkara* theory of the *Dharma-sūtras* to explain the existence of different non-Aryan groups which entered rather late within the pale of the society organised in the *Varṇāśrama* principle.

8. The language and customs were from their very nature ill suited to remain hidden under the Vedic revelation. Habits whether of speech or of other matters did indeed very hard. Though the exigencies of their religious rites compelled them to recite the Vedic mantras and to use the sacred tongue, the neo-Aryans surely used in their family or tribal circles their traditional speech while during their intercourse with the Aryans a jargon consisting of varying degrees of Aryan and non-Aryan was prominent. This state of things, as can be easily imagined, was detrimental to the purity of the Vedic speech and occasionally gave rise to *mlecchita* (corrupted) speech condemned so much by the custodians of the Vedic culture (*Brāhmaṇena na mlecchitam vai*, etc. Patañjali, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 2). Thus the necessary incentive was furnished to contemporary leaders of the Vedic religion, who surely included neo-Aryans too, for studies in phonetics (*śikṣā*), metrics (*chandas*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and

¹ A case parallel to this is to be found in the attempt on the part of some descendants of non-Anglo-Saxon people of America to pass as people of Anglo-Saxon origin.

vocabulary (*nighaṇṭu*).¹ The contents of the *Kalpa-sūtra* which branched off later on to Śrauta,² Grhya and Dharma-sūtras may also be said to have received attention at that time when the neo-Vaidikas were trying to assume the appearance of thoroughbred Aryans and for this purpose they required a set of codified rules by following which they could be trained in Vedic ways. Oldenberg who does not pay any attention to the ethnic composition of the Vedic people seems to consider that a training in the Vedic ways was a priestly imposition on the other Aryan classes. (See 'Buddha, His Life, His Doctrines, His Order,' Calcutta, 1927, pp. 14-15.) As, for various ceremonies the observation of correct date and days of the moon was already a necessity even before the conscious Aryanizing activities began, the study of astronomy (*jyotiṣa*) commenced earlier³; but it is probable that its results were not gathered in a written treatise till later when some of the earliest available texts of other Vedāṅgas have been composed.

9. One of the earliest references to the six aṅgas of the Veda occurs in the Śaḍvimpśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda⁴ which on linguistic grounds has been considered to be pre-Pāṇinian.⁵ And in the Muṇḍakōpaniṣad (*circa* 700 B. C.) too the six Vedāṅgas have been enumerated.⁶ In a passage of the Gautama Dharma sūtra (*circa* 500-400 B.C.) we learn that as his authorities on the administration of justice the king was to take among other things the Vedāṅga (VIII. 5; XI. 19; SBE., Vol. 33, p. 234; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 519). In the Āpastamba

¹ Prof. Lakshman Sarup has a different opinion on this point (Translation and Notes of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, pp. 221-223). He is also unwilling to recognize Pāṇini's grammar or Nighaṇṭu or similar other works as Vedāṅgas (*loc. cit.*).

² Śrauta Sūtras in fact represented the Kalpa sūtras most. For according to the Śikṣā Prākīśa commentary to the PŚ. kalpa is the science of rituals.

³ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 ff.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 112-113.

⁵ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 191.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 268. For the time of Muṇḍaka, see Hertel's edn., pp. 64ff.

Dharma sūtra (c. 500 B.C.)¹ too Vedāṅgas have been mentioned twice (I. 10, 28, 21 ; II. 4, 8, 10). This sūtra work also enumerates the six aṅgas, one of which is of course the Śikṣā (II. 4, 8, 10).² In spite of these very early references to Vedāṅgas with or without their number, earlier scholars were not prepared to admit that such references implied 'the existence of six distinct books or treatises intimately connected with the sacred things' and in their opinion these references implied merely the admission of six subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the recitation, the understanding, or the proper sacrificial employment of the Vedic hymns (Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 109 ; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 268). But as we have seen before that conditions favourable for the rise of the Vedāṅgas were probably in existence as early as 1000 B.C. and as the beginning of these studies at the time of the early Brāhmaṇas are attested by reliable references the existence of written treatises on Vedic aṅgas about 600 B. C. can by no means be considered to be impossible. The most one can assume about such works in the absence of suitable evidence, is that they have probably been lost. But to consider them to be non-existent after a lapse of nearly four centuries during which Vedic priests could compose voluminous Brāhmaṇas will indeed be a unique piece of inconsistency. Max Müller's schematic division of the Vedic period into Chandas, Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods perhaps lie at the back of this kind of unreasonable view. It is not possible that such closely divided ages ever existed ; some overlapping has surely occurred ; some at least of the Vedāṅga treatises were written in the Brāhmaṇa period—may be towards its end. For it is scarcely possible that when an energetic and intelligent people like the Indo-Aryans were already composing works like the

¹ SBE., Vol. 33, xliii ; also Batakrishna Ghosh, 'Apastamba and Gautama' in *IQ.*, 1927, pp. 607ff.

² J. Charpentier places without any justification the origin of the Vedāṅgas between 300-100 B.C. (see his ed. of the *Uttarādhyaṇasūtrā*, pp. 31-32).

Brāhmaṇas, small treatises on the Vedāṅgas which, as we already noticed (§ 5), must have been a vital necessity with them about 1000 B.C. and after, were not then being prepared. Thus we are justified to assume that treatises on different Vedāṅgas might have been in existence between 1000-600 B.C.¹

¹ Cf. Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 4.

ŚIKṢĀ

10. We have seen above under what possible conditions the Vedic priests might have turned their attention to the pronunciation of their sacred language and how this attention ultimately gave rise to the Śikṣā-vedāṅga. But, as can very naturally be expected, the word Śikṣā did not continue to mean the same thing during the different stages of its evolution.

11. According to Pāṇini (VII. 4. 58) the word Śikṣā has been derived from the desiderative of śak, 'to be able.'¹ Thus the literal meaning of śikṣā will be 'a desire to be able.' It is very difficult to understand how this rather curious meaning finally developed into 'phonetics.' It is indeed due to this difficulty that Weber and Max Müller have cut the Gordian knot by a bold assumption that √ śikṣ means originally 'a desire to know' (*zu können suchen*) though it must be admitted that 'knowing' cannot very well be equated to 'pronunciation.'² But, from the discussion made above of the conditions under which Śikṣā as a subject of study arose, the original meaning of this word seems to be plain enough. For were not the newly Aryanized people with their different ancestral speech-habit ill able to recite the Vedic mantras in a faultless manner? Now it may well be assumed that the difficulty in their case who had a totally different linguistic basis was so great that learners among them *had to have indeed a very strong 'desire to be able' to recite the Vedic hymns.* Possibly on such a hypothesis alone can we understand how the original meaning of 'to desire to be able' came to be narrowed down 'to desire to be able to recite the Vedas correctly' and from this finally

¹ See Lüders, *Vyāsāśikṣā*, p. 1.

² Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, IV, p. 345.

developed the sense of the study of pronunciation. Thus the original import of the term Śikṣā seems to have embedded in it an important history.

12. Now the Vedic pronunciation as we see from the Śikṣās and Prātiśākhya was more or less a complex affair. But it is not so much possible that all phases of this complexity were felt all at once at the very beginning when attention began to be given to pronunciation¹; even in case of its being felt these different aspects of it could not be handled with success at the very beginning. Whatever might be the case it is pretty sure that with the early Vedic phoneticians (Śikṣākāras) matters were simple enough and only the fundamentals occupied their attention. Our evidence in this matter comes from Patañjali who in his definition of a typical priest (*ārtvijāna*) says that he should be able to use the (Vedic) speech with (properly inflected) words (*pada*), with (proper) accent (*svara*) and with the (properly articulated) speech-sounds (*varṇas*).² From this we learn that the observation of the proper accent as well as the right pronunciation of speech-sounds were Śikṣākāras' chief object of study. And a later authority Viṣṇumitra, a commentator of the RPr., defines the Śikṣā as *svara-varṇōpadeśaka-śāstram*,³ the science which teaches accent and the speech-sounds (*varṇa*). Madhusūdana Sarasvatī too says the same thing more elaborately.⁴ Hence we see that the correct production of speech-sounds in general and the pitch and quantity of vowels comprised

¹ In order to appreciate these we are to take notice of different stages in the phonetic evolution of the Middle Indo-Aryan. See S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*

² *yo vā imāṃ padasah svarasō kṣarasō vācam vidadhāti sa ārtvijinaḥ* (Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 3). *Pada* in this passage does not mean 'Verstollen' though in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa this is the meaning (see B. Liebh, *Zur Einührung*, II, §§ 3-4) and *akṣara* does not mean here syllable in connection with metrics but with phonetics, for Patañjali says later on that Vedic words are taught to those who know places of articulation, adjustment of organs and the vocal words. This probably shows phonetics was studied earlier than metrics.

³ v. l. *svara-varṇōpadeśaka* RPr., ed. Benares, p. 10; S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁴ *tatra śikṣāyā udātānūdātāsavarita-hrasvadirghapluṭavīṣiṣṭa-svaravyañjanātmaka-varṇo-ccāraṇa viśiṣṭa-jñānaṃ prayojanam*. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, I, p. 16.

the sole scope of the Śikṣā at the earliest stage of its development. It is quite possible that there was no written treatise on these topics, the Ācārya teaching the young learner (*brahmacārī*)¹ by words of his mouth, and it was only a little later that the earliest manual on different topics of the Śikṣā came to be written down. Now of the two phases of pronunciation that were considered important in the beginning, the proper instruction of the speech-sounds was probably reduced to a system first of all. We do not know what this system was like, but in view of somewhat phonetic arrangement of *varṇas* in the *Varṇa-samāmnāya* or the so-called *Śiva-sūtras*² we are tempted to assume that this—probably in some earlier form—constituted the first treatise on the instruction of speech-sounds. The word *samāmnāya* 'traditional recitation' probably gives support to this view. Kātyāyana also seems to give it support while he says *vṛtti-samavāyārtha upadeśaḥ*, the enunciation (of the speech-sounds in the *Śiva-sūtras*) is meant for arranging the *varṇas* in a proper order for (the facility of) recitation.³

¹ The prescription of a long residence of the very young *Brahmacārīn* (coming in some cases from extra-Aryan groups) with the Ācārya, in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* resulted and seems to be meant for a linguistic rebirth (*doṣajātva*).

² Prof. B. Faddegon says that the *Śiva-sūtra* as a phonetical classification deserves the highest praise ('The mnemotechnics of Pāṇini's Grammar,' *Acta Orientalia*, VII, 1929, p. 54). Mr. K. C. Chatterji is against such a view (see *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XXIV).

³ In this translation we have ventured to differ from Patañjali on the interpretation of the word *vṛtti* which he explains as *śāstra-pravṛttiḥ* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 13). Our translation of the word as 'recitation' has its support from the well-known couplet *abhyāsārthe drutāṃ vṛttim*, etc. (RP., XIII, 19, Yaj., 22, etc.). Compare also the word *āvṛtti* recitation. If Patañjali has misunderstood Kātyāyana there is no wonder about it; according to his own testimony Patañjali lived in a decadent age as regards the proper teaching of the Vedas. He says: In the hoary antiquity it was like this: Brahmins after their *upanayana* studied grammar. And when they have learnt the places of articulation of sounds, the adjustment of organs and vocal chord in producing them, they were given instruction in Vedic words. But to-day it is not so. Reading, the Veda (straight) one quickly becomes a recitor of the same. (*Purā kalpa etad āsit, saṃskārōttarakālaṃ Brāhmaṇā vyākaraṇaṃ smādhiyate, tebhyas tatra sthāna-karaṇānupradājanēbhya Vaidikā śabdā upadiśyante, tad adyatve na tathā. Vedam adhitya tevṛtā vaktāro bhavanti.*) The use of the word *kalpa* is very significant. It literally means 432 million years but is used here in the sense of 'hoary antiquity.' This

13. There may however be some objection to the above view on the following grounds : (i) in the Varṇa-samāmnāya long and pluta vowels have been omitted, (ii) unvoiced stops have not been arranged in the same order as the voiced ones, (iii) the absence of yama, anusvāra, visarga, jihvā-mūliya and upadhmāniya in it and (iv) the *h* of the sūtra *ha-ya-va-ra-ṭ* and the sūtra *ha-l* at the end duplicating *h*, is inexplicable.

14. Now in reply to the first objection it may be said that a person learning short vowels correctly will naturally find it easy to produce their long and protracted varieties, and it is for this reason that the author of the Varṇa-samāmnāya did not probably like to make it unnecessarily cumbersome for the beginner by inclusion of these sounds, for the quantity of the vowel constituted a separate subject of instruction (see PŚ. 7). That voiced and unvoiced consonants have not been arranged in the same order in the Varṇa-samāmnāya cannot go against its phonetic character ; on the contrary, by varying the places of articulation in the utterance of the sounds their mechanical and hence wrong pronunciation has possibly been guarded against. Or it might be for the sake of his Pratyāhāras Pāṇini had to arrange the sounds like this. As for the omission of yama and anusvāra, etc., it may be said that being development of sounds already existing in the Varṇa-samāmnāya they do not appear there. Regarding the repetition of the sound *h* it may be said that there were possibly two *h*'s recognized in the Old Indo-Aryan, one *voiced* and another *unvoiced*. The fact that the second *h* is taken along with *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*, may justify us in making the above assumption. Prof. Sköld has tried to explain this double *h* by assuming that the Varṇa-samāmnāya might have been altered since its first formation and the last sūtra has probably been a later creation (Papers on Pāṇini, p. 20).

passage shows that the chronological distance between Patañjali and the early writers on Vedic phonetics as well as Pāṇini might be very great or the progress of Buddhism that preceded Patañjali must have been very detrimental to the Vedic studies or both might be facts.

15. As for the authorship of the Varṇa-samāmnāya we have no means of deciding whether it was made by some pre Pāṇinian authority (Śiva, Maheśvara) or Pāṇini.¹ All we can reasonably assume is that Pāṇini might have adopted the already existing material (the Śiva-sūtras in their original form), with certain changes, as the matrix of his pratyāhāras, and the Śikṣā connected with his name was perhaps the work to which was prefixed this Varṇa-samāmnāya and furnished the basis of Pāṇini's grammar and phonetics. The relation of the PŚ. to this work which in its original form may go back to the first age of the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga (1000-600 B.C.) will be considered later (§ 20).

16. The scope of the Śikṣā as given in the Taittiriya Upaniṣad probably brings us to the second stage in the evolution of this Vedāṅga. According to this Upaniṣad (1. 2) the Śikṣā consists of *svara* 'pitch accent,' *mātrā* 'quantity,' *bala* 'stress,' *sāma* 'utterance in a medium tone,' and *santāna* (*saṃhītā*, 'euphonic combination.'² While referring to the Śikṣā in his introduction to the Ṛgveda-bhāṣya Śāyana thinks of the developed state of this Vedāṅga even when he says *varṇa-svarādyuccāraṇa-prakāro yatra upadiśyate sā śikṣā*; for he brings in the

¹ Prof B. Faddeson says : Most likely the Śiva Sūtra is of earlier date than the Aṣṭādhyāyī (*op. cit.*, p. 56). Dr. Mangal Deva Shastri too thinks that the Śiva-sūtras are pre-Pāṇinian ('The Relation of Pāṇini's Technical Devices to his Predecessors' in the Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, Vol. II, 1928, pp. 469f.). Mr. K. A. Sutrāhmanī Iyer however thinks that the Śiva Sūtras are Pāṇini's own (On the Fourteen Maheśvara Sūtras, *ibid.*, p. 142). Dr. P. Thieme thinks as follows : The idea of some modern scholars that this dogma (i.e., the divine revelation of the Śiva-sūtra) contains as a 'historical nucleus' the fact that Pāṇini did not compose the 'Śiva Sūtras' himself, is nothing short of absurd (*op. cit.*). But his view that Patañjali took it for granted that the Śiva Sūtras are P.'s work, seems to be wrong. Patañjali merely says in this connection that *etaḥ jñāpayaty ācāryaḥ* (Pāṇini). The verb *jñāpayati* (suggests) has the same root as *jñāpaka* (a suggested or implied precept) so often used in the Mahābhāṣya.

² The translation of the terms given above is based on Saṅkara's Bhāṣya of the Taitt. Up. ; cf. the translation of these terms by Prof. Winternitz (A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 282). Macdonell in pursuance of Śāyana translates these as letters, accents, quality, pronunciation and euphonic rules (see Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 256). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma translates *varṇa* as 'individual sounds,' *svara* as 'accent,' *santāna* as 'chanting of the Vedic verses' and in this connexion he ignores *bala* totally (see his Critical Studies, p. 4).

passage from the Taitt. Up. (1.2). According to him *svara-varṇādayaḥ* means *varṇa*, *svara*, *mātrā*, *bala*, *sāma* and *santāna*. But the fact that Sāyaṇa in his Veda-bhāṣya quotes from Prātiśākhya does not invalidate his testimony about the Vedāṅga Śikṣā which according to him is the PŚ. For he mentions no less than three couplets (PŚ. 8, 9, 10) of the latter work.¹ As Uvāta, one of Sāyaṇa's predecessors, in his introduction to the commentary of the Ṛk Prātiśākhya has considered this work to be a Śikṣā² we can easily believe that Sāyaṇa was fully conscious about the historical relation between the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhya and he surely followed a correct tradition in according due honour to each kind of works on the subject. For the Prātiśākhya, though one of them has called itself a Vedāṅga,³ were, as we shall see presently, the Śikṣā manuals belonging to the second stage in the development of this Vedāṅga, and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī too was aware of this fact.⁴ The position of the Prātiśākhya in the history of ancient Indian phonetic literature seems to have been very much misunderstood.⁵ And in order to appreciate their proper position as well as that of the Vedāṅga Śikṣa composed by Pāṇini we must now inquire into the nature and scope of the Prātiśākhya and their time.

¹ Sāyaṇa evidently used one of the very late recensions of the PŚ. for he says *sa cāṅgabdhūta-śikṣā-grantho spaṣṭam udīritaḥ 'triṣaṣṭis' catuṣṣaṣṭir vā varṇā sambhavato matāḥ* etc. (Pnj. Prak. Yaj. and Rk. 3.)

² *tathāpy asyaṃ śikṣāyāṃ dantya-mūliya ity uktāḥ* (ed. Sāmaśrami, p. 14). Madhusūdana too calls Prātiśākhya Śikṣā; see the Note 5 below.

³ ṚPr. XIV. 30; Madhusūdana seems to be of opinion that the Prātiśākhya too are Vedāṅgas.

⁴ *tatra sarva-vedasādhāraṇaśikṣā Pāṇinīnā prakāśitā prativedaśākhyaṃ ca bhinnarūpā p rātiśākhya-saṃjñitā anyaireva munibhiḥ prakāśitā.*

⁵ Cf. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 116f.; Winternitz, Vol. I, p. 283; Kielhorn in I. Ant., 6, pp. 144, 193 contra which Burnell, *Ṛk-tantra Vyākaraṇa*, pp. xlix-1; S. Sastri, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 40. Exceptions are Goldstücker 'Pāṇini', p. 184, and Paul Thieme, 'Pāṇini and the Veda,' Allahabad, 1935, pp. 81f.

PRATISĀKHYAS

17. Before entering into any discussion about the origin, nature and scope, etc., of the Prātisākhya it would be proper to examine the term about the meaning of which there seems to exist some misunderstanding. The word consists of three parts: *prati*, *śākhā* and the formative element. Of these, the exact meaning of *śākhā* should be determined first of all.

18. The *śākhā*, as is well-known, relates to the different Vedic schools; but we do not know whether the *śākhā* refers to the one undivided Veda or to each of the different Vedas, such as, *R̥k*, *Sāman*, *Yajus* (Black and White), etc. Let us first consider the case of an undivided Veda. From the story occurring in the *Mahābhārata* and some *Purāṇas* that *Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana* Muni divided the Veda into four parts¹ we may infer that the Vedic mantras existed once as an undivided corpus. The fact that particular mantras are found in more Vedas than one, hints that the mantras were collected under different names chiefly with a view to their ritual use. For example, the collection of mantras made for the use of the *H o t ṛ* was called *R̥k* and that for the use of the *A d h v a r y u* was called the *Yajus* while the *U d g ā t ṛ*'s collection was called the *Sāman*. Now the principle according to which the particular mantras could be put under different labels was the same as that which has been traditionally at the root of the division of the Vedas into *śākhās*. For, from *Mahādeva*'s commentary on the *Hiranyakeśi*

¹ For details see *Śaśibhūṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra*, *জীবনীকোষ (Jīvanī-koṣa)*, Calcutta, 1341 B.E., pp. 1090 f. (article on 'Vedavyāsa').

Sūtra we learn that one of the reasons which gave rise to śākhās was the manner of reading the Vedas.¹ This being the case we can well say that from one original Veda came out first of all śākhās like Rk, Sāman, Yajus, etc.² For, the uttering of Vedic mantras by different classes of priests was different; the Hotṛ recited the Ṛcas with his normal voice, the Adhvaryu muttered the Yajūṃṣi silently, while the Udgātṛ chanted Sāmans loudly.³

19. But the threefold śākhā, if we are allowed to postulate this, must have existed at the very beginning of the period which witnessed the growth of Vedic ritualism, or roughly in the period preceding the Brāhmaṇas. From this period onwards the Vedic people, that is, the Aryans together with the pre-Aryan ethnic element which they might have absorbed, began to scatter themselves in widely separated regions of the Indian continent where Aryanization followed. This diffusion of the Vedic people, their culture and religion gave rise, in course of time, to difference in pronunciation of the mantras, and mantras being orally transmitted some of them came, in course of time, to be read in different places with more or less different word order, and a difference in the order of stanzas constituting them also arose. It is probably these factors that brought forth different śākhās in the generally accepted sense and they were, in fact, śākhās of śākhās or secondary śākhās. Prātiśākyas relate to all such śākhās in existence at the time of their composition or final redaction. But separation among the different branches of the Vedic people resulted not only in the

¹ śākhābhede' dhyayanabhedād vā sūtra bheda' vā. See Max Müller, *Ancient Skt. Literature*, London, 1859, p. 127.

² Max Müller also writes; 'The word (i.e., śākhā) is sometimes applied to the three original Samhitās, the Rgveda-samhitā, Sāma-veda-samhitā and Yajur-veda-samhitā, in relation to one another and without reference to subordinate śākhās belonging to each of them' (*op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124). Yāska's use of singular number with reference to the Veda deserves notice (I. 20). Prof. Sarup however takes this differently. See his *transl.*, p. 221.

³ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 471 f.; *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtrās* (II. 1. 35-37).

difference of pronunciation of the mantras but also a variation of their sacrificial rules and social laws and customs. Thus the śākhās came to relate also to a difference in such matters,¹ though Prātiśākhya had nothing to do with such śākhās.²

20. Now the exact sense of śākhās having been determined we shall proceed to ascertain the sense of the term *Prātiśākhya*. According to Max Müller who wrote in 1859, 'Prātiśākhya...does not mean, as has been supposed, a treatise on phonetic peculiarities of each Veda, but a collection of phonetic rules peculiar to one of the different branches of the four Vedas, i.e., to one of those different texts in which each of the Vedas had been handed down for ages in different families and different parts of India.'³ This view has been subscribed to by Whitney in his edition of the Atharva-veda Prātiśākhya (1862).⁴ Since then almost all the scholars have followed this view.⁵ But such an opinion seems to have been expressed on very inadequate grounds. For, Mādhava, quoted by Jñānendra Sarasvatī in his gloss on the Siddh. Kau. (P. IV. 3. 59), explains Prātiśākhya as *pratiśākham bhavam*.⁶ And Anantabhaṭṭa too in the introduction to his commentary to the Śukla-Yajus Prātiśākhya defines the word similarly and shows, after an elaborate discussion, that Kātyāyana's work relates to all the fifteen śākhās which developed out of the Śukla Yajur-veda.⁷ From the testimony of Durga also we learn that the Prātiśākhya related to more schools than one. For in his commentary to the Nirukta (I. 17) he says: *kim pārṣadāni? svacarana-parṣady eva yaiḥ*

¹ See above, footnote 2. 'Sūtra' in Mahādeva's comm. means *Kalpasūtras*, i.e., *Srauta*-, *Gṛhya*- and *Dharma-Sūtras*.

² The word 'śākhā' used hereafter in this essay will mean, unless otherwise qualified, a *phonetic śākhā* only.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁴ *JAOS.*, Vol. VII, pp. 342, 580 f.

⁵ See Siddheshwar Varma, *Critical Studies*, p. 12; Winternitz, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1924, p. 284.

⁶ *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, ed. Gadgil, Bombay, 1904, p. 249.

⁷ Kātyāyana's *Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya*, ed. Venkatarama Sharma, Madras University, 1934, pp. 2-5.

*pratiśākhaṃ niyatam eva padāvagraha-pragrhya-krama-saṃhitā-svaralakṣaṇam ucyate tāni imāni pārśadāni prātiśākhyāni ity arthaḥ.*¹ 'Those Pārśada books by which in a Pariśad of one's own Carana, the peculiarities of accent, saṃhitā, krama-reading, pragrhya vowels and separation of words are laid as enjoined for, and restricted to each śākhā are called Prātiśākhyas.' Max Müller who quoted the above passage may be said to have misunderstood it. *Pratiśākhaṃ* which he translated as 'to certain śākhās' should be equivalent to 'to each śākhā.' It should be noticed in this connexion that Max Müller's translation of the passage is not in agreement with his own definition of the term Prātiśākhyā quoted above. However the fault lies principally with commentators like the author of the Vaidikā-bharaṇa whom Max Müller in all likelihood followed. For in the last named work which does not say anything about the exclusive phonetic character of śākhās in a Prātiśākhyā, it has been suggested that the Prātiśākhyas relate to a group of śākhās.¹ This suggestion seems to give partial support to Mādhava's and Anantabhaṭṭa's testimony referred to above. For it does not restrict Prātiśākhyas to one only of the many śākhās.

The word *Pārśada* which is a synonym for *Prātiśākhyā* seems to give some clue to the solution of the problem whether Prātiśākhyas related to only one or all the śākhās of a Veda. In Nārāyaṇa's commentary to a passage (*ācāryaṃ sapariśatkaṃ bhojayet sabrahmacāriṇaś-ca* in the Gobhila-Gr̥hyasūtra-bhāṣya we find the following *saha pariśadā śiṣyaganenā vartata iti sapariśatkaḥ taṃ. samānaṃ tulyakālaṃ brahmacāritvaṃ yeṣāṃ ta ime anyasākhino'pi sabrahmacāriṇaḥ savayo'bhi adhīyante.*² From this passage we learn that students belonging to different Vedic schools could take their lessons from one Ācārya who together with his pupils constituted a Pārśada or Pariśad. Thus

¹ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 131; S. Varma translates Mādhava's words as belonging to each individual (*prati*) śākhā (*op. cit.*, p. 12).

² On the T. Pr., IV. 11; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 13

Pārṣada sūtras evidently related to such Pariṣads comprising different schools of a Veda. Hence it seems justifiable to conclude that Pārṣada-sūtras or Prātiśākhya related to each one or all the śākhās of a Veda.

21. By taking what seems very much to be a wrong view about the meaning of the word Prātiśākhya or the scope of a work so named, Whitney felt some uneasiness over naming the Prātiśākhya of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajur-veda as the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya.¹ The very fact that this Prātiśākhya mentioned the Black Yajus schools like Mīmāṃsaka and Āhvaraka as well as Taittirīya, made it very inconvenient for him to attach the Prātiśākhya to the last named school (Taittirīya) only. But still he considered it prudent to adopt the name Taitt. Pr. for the work, though it did not quite satisfy his great critical acumen. For he confesses that 'we are far from fully comprehending as yet the origin, nature and relation of the "schools" of Vedic study and their accepted texts or *śākhās*...' ² This, however, was not the attitude of Whitney a few years earlier when he edited the Atharva-veda Pr. and had recourse to conjectures of varying degrees to explain away the discordance between the theory current in his time about the nature and scope of Prātiśākhyas and the characteristics of the Pr. in hand. He attached this Pr. to the Śaunaka school of the Atharva-veda and troubled himself about the problem why in certain points it was not in complete agreement to the Veda of this school. He little dreamt the Pr. in question related also to other Atharva Śākhās which in all likelihood perished or were till then untraced.³ Hence in his edition of the Atharva-veda Pr. Whitney writes 'It is.....peculiarity of the authors of our treatise to give their rules a wider scope than the vocabulary of the Atharva

¹ See p. 427 of Whitney's ed. of this Prātiśākhya was published in 1871.

² Whitney, T. Pr. p. 427.

³ The Paippalāda śākhā of the Atharva-veda discovered after Whitney's ed. of the Atharva Pr. should be remembered in this connexion.

requires, in many instances contemplating and providing for combination of sounds which are found nowhere in the body of Vedic scriptures, and for which accordingly the commentator is obliged to fabricate illustrations (p. 583).¹ Now whatever may be said about the genuineness of examples given by the commentator who was possibly very late, it cannot be said that the author of the *Prātiśākhya*s based his rules on non-existing materials. In view of the tradition that Vedas, in different periods, came to be lost and had to be recovered, it will not be difficult to assume that some of the *śākhās* with their texts perished beyond recovery.¹ Even if his allegation against the commentator in some rare cases may not be untrue, Whitney himself has admitted that 'there are certain number of sentences among those given by the commentator which have more or less clearly the aspect of genuine citations from Vedic texts; and although some might be regarded as instances of carelessness on his part quoting by memory from another source than his own Veda, we cannot possibly extend this explanation to them all; it must remain probable that, in part at least, they were contained in some hitherto unknown *çākha* of the *Atharva-veda*.'² From these passages one will easily realise the untenable nature of the meaning given to *Prātiśākhya* by Whitney, his predecessors and followers.³

22. Max Müller, in his introduction to the *Rk-Prātiśākhya* (1870) does not care to examine in details the deviations of the *Prātiśākhya* from the available *Rgveda* text (of *Śākala* recension). This may be said to be due particularly to his strong belief that *Prātiśākhya*s were concerned with one *śākhā* of a Veda. Hence, he very summarily disposes of the question of relationship between the *Prātiśākhya* and the *Rgveda* (*Śākala*) text by saying that, as "in all essential points our own best

¹ Hopkins, 'The Great Epic of India,' p. 5.

² JAOS., VII, p. 583.

³ E.g., Prof. Keith believes with Whitney that the T.Pr. relates to the *Taittirīya* *Mantra-pāṭha* alone. See *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, HOS, p. xxxviii.

manuscripts of the text agree with the data in the *Prātiśākhya*, we may prudently conclude that the text of the *R̥gveda* we possess is the same as seen by the authors of the *Prātiśākhya* more than 2000 years ago."¹ Along with this should be remembered what he himself wrote in this connexion eleven years earlier. In the *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859) Max Müller wrote: "There is not a single MS. at present existing of the *R̥gveda* in which rules of our *Prātiśākhya* are uniformly observed, and the same applies to the MSS. of the other Vedas."²

22 (a). Burnell, too, in his introduction to the *R̥k-tantra-vyākaraṇa* (Mangalore, 1879), considered by him to be a *Prātiśākhya* of the *Sāma-veda*, thought that *Prātiśākhyas* belonged to one of the many *śākhās* of a *Veda*. He attached the *R̥k-tantra* to the *Kaṭhumī śākhā* alone and made some conjectures as to why this *Prātiśākhya* could not be connected with *Jaiminīya*, *Talavakāra* or *Rāṇāyanīya śākhās*, and he assumed that *Prātiśākhyas* connected with these *śākhās* had been lost. But all these assumptions seem to be uncalled for. For example, characteristics of some *Sāma śākhās* such as the cerebral *l* and short *e* and *o* were in all probability phonetic developments occurring or recognized later.³ There can be nothing against such an assumption. For there is the traditional view that the difference of *śākhās* arising from difference in uttering mantras is without any (historical) beginning;⁴ and from this we may deduce that even after the *Prātiśākhyas* were written new differences in pronuncia-

¹ *IHQ.*, Vol. III, 1927, pp. 611-612: Introduction to *R̥k-Pr.*, translated into English by B. K. Ghosh.

² Pp. 186, 187.

³ Patañjali's opinion regarding the shortening of *e* and *o* in the *Sātyamugrīya* and *Rāṇāyanīya śākhās* of the *Sāma-veda* deserves special notice in this connexion. For he is unwilling to recognize such a deviation from the tradition though the *Paṇḍit* gave it sanction. He says, *pārṣadekṣitir eṣā tatrabhavatām naiva loke nānyasmin vede'rtha ekāro'rtha okāro vāsti* on the *Sīvasūtra* (ai-au-c).

⁴ *adhyāyana-bhedāto chākhābhedo'nādi* quoted by Max Müller., *op. cit.*, p. 127. See also pp. 117-118; *pravacanabhedāt prativedaṇ bhinnā bhūyasyaś ca śākhā*, says *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* in the *Prasthāna-bheda*.

tion could arise between several groups of Vedic people and did actually arise and thus the process which brought into existence different śākhās was practically without an end.¹ It will be found on a closer study of the various Prātiśākhya and Śikṣā that the difference of pronunciation among Vedic śākhās owe their origin to the forces which tended to develop the Old Indo-Aryan to the Middle Indo-Aryan and the later to the New Indo-Aryan dialects.² But Whitney, Max Müller and Burnell however viewed the matter differently and so did Weber before them.³

23. The Prātiśākhya belonging as they do to the second age of the study of the Śikṣā Vedāṅga had a much wider scope than the manual of the subject that was produced in the first age.⁴ From a study of the contents of the Prātiśākhya we find that the scope of the Śikṣā as given in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (I. 2) applies to a considerable extent to the Prātiśākhya which

¹ Mr. Suryakanta Sastri in his Introduction to his new ed. of the R̥k-tantra follows Burnell in assigning the work to the Kauthumī śākhā (pp. 2-6). But Mr. Sastri has also given some fresh arguments in support of Burnell's theory. These, however, are by no means unassailable. That the Jaiminīya text of the Sāma-veda did not give the peculiarities provided for in the Sūtrās 58, 94, 112 and 114 can be explained also by the assumption that the phonetic changes in question might have arisen later or the Prātiśākhya being manuals of pronunciation had not much influence with the scribes, and discrepancy between the written text and its pronunciation can well be assumed to have existed in early times also. From the emphatic manner in which the use of written texts of the Vedas has been discouraged we can well infer this. For the Nāradya-Śikṣā says :

*Pustakapratyayādhītan nādhītan gurusannidhau
rājate na sabhāmādhye jārāgurbho iva striyaḥ.* (II. 8. 19),

and the Yājñavalkya-Śikṣā has the following :

*gītī śighr ī śirah-kampī tathā likhita-pāṭhakaḥ
anarthajñō'lpakāṇṭhas ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhakādhamāḥ.* (196).

The long quotation which Mr. Sastri has given in support of his connecting the R̥k-tantra with the Kauthuma śākhā alone of the Sāma-veda, is not at all convincing. According to this question the Kauthumī śākhā seems to include Nārada, Lomaśa, Gautama and Naigeya schools. He ought to have explained this fact.

² Bloomfield and Edgerton, *Vedic Variants*, Vol. 2, *Phonetics*, Ch. I, especially §§ 20-43. See also Max Müller, *Ancient Skt. Lit.*, p. 117.

³ Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, pp. 67 ff. See also Winternitz, *A Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 284. According to the Taitt. Up. Śikṣā treats of the following : *varṇa* (speech-sounds) *svara* (pitch-accent), *mātrā* (quantity), *bala* (stress), *sāma* (utterance in a medium tone), and *samhitā* (euphonic combination).

Contra this, see Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 285.

should be called secondary Śikṣās.¹ When judged by the standard set up by the Taitt. Up. for Śikṣā (phonetics), the Prātiśākhya may be found wanting in certain respects.² For example, the treatment of *sāma* and *bala* is non-existent in them. But it can well be assumed that as these two topics were exclusively matters of oral instruction the Prātiśākhya did not discuss them.

24. As for the date of the Prātiśākhya which as we have seen can be called the secondary Śikṣās, their rise and development, at least of the older ones among them, can be roughly placed between 600-200 B.C.³ A detailed discussion about the date of the Prātiśākhya will carry us far beyond the scope of the present work. But in support of the lower limit to the date of the early Prātiśākhya it may be mentioned that the passages from the Taittirīya Pr. and Atharva Pr. occur in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (c. 200 B.C.). Patañjali's loan to the Pr. has already been pointed out by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma but the acquaintance of the Bhāṣyakāra with the A. Pr. has not been pointed out before. Under the Vārttika to Pāṇini I. 1. 10. Patañjali⁴ quotes *sprṣtam sparśānām karanam. īṣatsprṣtam antaḥsthānām. vivṛtam ūṣmaṇām īṣad ity anuvartate. svarāṇām ca* [MSS. A B *vivṛtam īṣad iti nivṛttam*]. Here we have sūtras 29-32 of the APr. with the difference that the word order of the sūtra *ūṣmaṇām vivṛtam ca* has been changed and *ca* has been omitted. The accompanying *vṛtti* in Patañjali's quotation shows that he has quoted from some sūtra work which was evidently the APr.⁵

¹ Cf. Suryakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, 'Introduction, p. 8.

² For the scope of the Śikṣā as laid down in the Taitt. Up., see § 16.

³ S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 412. See also Hannes Sköld, 'The Nirukta: Its place in Old Indian Literature, its Etymologies.' Lund, 1926, p. 121. Before Dr. Varma he surmised that the Pr. was to be placed before Patañjali though he very rightly held that the age of the Prātiśākhya has rather been overrated. Cf. Winternitz, Vol. I, p. 268.

⁴ Ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 64.

⁵ Recent attempts to show that the Śaunakiyā Cāturādhyāyikā is not the A. Pr. must be pronounced as a failure (*vide* The Atharva-Prātiśākhya, ed. Viswa Bandhu Vidyarthi Shastri, Lahore, 1923, pp. 13-14. S. Sastri, *op. cit.*, introduction, p. 6). For, Uvaṣa in his introduction to the Ṛk Pr. writes, "tathā cātharvaṇa-prātiśākhya idam eva prayojanam uktam evam iheti ca vibhāṣāprāptam sāmānye." A. Pr. I. 2.

PAṆINIYA ŚIKṢĀ

25. *Its contents.* The PŚ. as we have reconstructed it from different recensions, contains only eighteen couplets in anuṣṭubh metre though the longest (Rk) recension includes no less than forty-two additional couplets¹ most of which are in the same metre. The extreme shortness of this Śikṣā-Vedāṅga can well be compared with that of the Chando-Vedāṅga which is embedded in the Chandaḥ-sūtras of Piṅgala and contains only 87 sūtras which will scarcely be much bigger in extent than the PŚ.² But in spite of its extreme brevity the PŚ. was more or less a complete manual on the pronunciation of the Vedic speech-sounds in general at the time the work was composed.

In the first two couplets the PŚ. enumerates the speech-sounds (*varṇas*); vowels and consonants have been separately mentioned. The next four couplets (3-6) give a theory of production of the speech-sounds. This is followed by a five-fold classification of these sounds according to their pitch, quantity, place of articulation, primary effort (*prayatna*) and the secondary effort (*anupradāna*) (7-16). It goes without saying that pitch and quantity primarily concerned vowels while the remaining items all the sounds. The sounds mentioned in the PŚ. are shown below in phonetic script according to their classes.

¹ Some of the additional passages, e.g. Rk 46, 47 are not in verse. We however, have called them couplets only as a matter of convenience.

² See Manomohan Ghosh, 'The Chando-Vedāṅga of Piṅgala' in *IHQ*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 727 ff. ; Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, VIII, pp. 229-237.

Table B

Pāṇini's Classification of Speech-Sounds of the O I A.

1. According to Places of Articulation.

| | | uras | kaṭṭha | jihvāmūla | tālu | mūrdhan | danta | danta-oṣṭha | oṣṭha |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|------|--------|--------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| sparśa | <i>alpaprāṇa</i> ¹ | | | k g | c ɟ | t ʈ | t d | | p b |
| | <i>mahāprāṇa</i> | | | kh gʱ | ch ɟʱ | ṭh ʈʱ | th dʱ | | ph bʱ |
| | anunāsika | | | ṅ | ɲ | ṇ | n | | m |
| | ūṣman | h | (h) f | x | ç | ʃ | s | | ʀ |
| antapṣṭha | (lateral) | | | | | | l | | |
| | (flapped) | | | | | r | | | |
| | (semivowel) | | | | j | | | w | |
| svara | <i>samānākṣara</i> (monophthong) | | a a: | | i i: | | | | u u: |
| | <i>sandhyakṣara</i> (diphthong) | | | kaṭṭha-tālu e: (=āī-æē?) ai | | kaṭṭha-oṣṭha o: (=āū-ōō?) au | | | |

2. According to Prayatana.

| | |
|-------------|--|
| a-sprṣṭa | a a: , i i: , u u: , e: (=āī-æē?) ai o: (=āū-ōō?) au |
| īsat-sprṣṭa | j w r l (h x ʀ) |
| nema-sprṣṭa | ç ʃ s |
| sprṣṭa | all stops and h |

¹ Terms in Italics have not been used in the PŚ.

3. According to Anupradāna.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| nādin | { anuṇāsika | ṇ | ṇ | ṇ | n | m |
| | { an-anuṇāsika | fi | gfi | jfi | ḍfi | bfi |
| Iṣan-nāda | | g | ḡ | ḍ | d | ḃ |
| śvāsin | | kh | ch | ṭh | th | ph |
| Iṣac-chvāsin | | k | c | ṭ | t | p |

26. *Its Language.* Within the short extent of eighteen couplets we have one clear instance of Vedic usage (see Note 9, see also Note 18). There is another expression which also according to the Kāśikā follows the Vedic usage (see Note 9 on *so'dīrṇaḥ*). Thus we may be justified to conclude that the PŚ. was written in a late form of the Vedic speech. The text of the Ṛk recension of the PŚ. as printed in the Sikṣā-Saṃgraha (Benares, 1893) has been furnished with accent marks. But as eighteen only of the couplets have been considered to be original we have no sufficient ground to take these accent-marks to be very old. But on looking to the archaic language of the PŚ. we are tempted to assume that the editor of the text of the Ṛk recension, which served as the basis of the ŚS. text, must have had behind him a good traditional support. It is quite likely that these accent-marks in the PŚ. fell into disuse just as the accent-marks in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha did.¹ Pāṇini's sūtras such as *svaritenādhikārah*, *anudātta-ṇita ātmane-padam* (I. 3. 11, 12) clearly indicate that these two works were once accented. This possible existence of accent-marks in the PŚ. again speaks for its great antiquity.

27. That the PŚ. has been composed in the anuṣṭubh metre has been considered by Max Müller to be the sign of its lateness. On this point, after emphasising the antiquity of the Ṛk Prātiśākhya he says, 'By comparing Saunaka's chapters

¹ See Wackernagel, I, p. 283.

in his first Prātiśākhya with the small śloka compilation which is generally quoted as the Vedāṅga, the difference of old and modern ślokas will at once be perceived.' ¹ As he has not expressly laid down the criterion with which to distinguish between the old and the new ślokas we cannot judge the strength of his argument; but ślokas which he considered to be modern in structure might well have been among those which we have had to consider spurious. Whatever may be the fact, the anuṣṭubh metre in which the reconstructed PŚ. has been composed appears by no means younger in age than that in which works like the Bṛhaddevatā (c. 400 B. C.) has been composed.

Four important characteristics of the classical Skt. ślokas are: (i) of every pāda the 5th syllable shall be short and (ii) the 6th syllable long and (iii) the 7th syllable of the first and the third pāda shall be long and (iv) that of the second and the fourth pāda shall be short. Now in the PŚ. (as reconstructed by us) the 5th syllable of the pāda is long *thrice* (6a, 15a, c)² and the 6th syllable short *seven* times (4a, 5a, c, 6a, 8c, 11a, c) and the 7th syllable of the first and the third pāda is short *seven* times (4a, 5a, c, 6a, 11a, c) and the 7th syllable of the 2nd pāda is long *once* (2b). Considering the fact that the PŚ. consists of 18 ślokas only these 18 instances of metrical irregularity is enough to show their archaic nature.

28. *Its place in the Indian Literature.* In his commentary to Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā sūtras Śabara (c. 500 A.C.)³ once (on I. 1.22) mentions the 'authors of the Śikṣā' (śikṣākārāḥ).⁴ Plural being evidently used for showing respect we do not learn from this what particular author of Śikṣā Śabara had in mind.

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 145.

² a, b, c and d indicate in this paragraph the first, second, third and the fourth quarter of a śloka.

³ R. G. Bhandarkar, JBRAS, 1914, p. 297 f.; Winternitz, III, p. 425.

⁴ *nanu vāyu-kāraṇakāḥ syād iti vāyur udgataḥ saṃyoga-vibhāgaḥ śabdo bhavotīti tathā ca śikṣā-kārāḥ āhuḥ vāyur āpadyate śabdātām iti.* Śabara here does not quote the words of the PŚ but gives its view.

But he discusses later on (under I. 3. 25) a theory of the production of words, which is identical with that available in the PŚ. (3-6).¹ Bhartṛhari (c. 650 A.C.) too in his Vākyapadīya (I.47)² seems to follow the same theory, though he does not mention any Sikṣā or Sikṣākāra. But from Śabara's or Bhartṛhari's probable acquaintance with the PŚ. we do not learn anything about the authorship of this work. It may be that like the compiler of the Agni Purāṇa they were not aware of the name of its author though it was surely looked upon by them as the most authentic Sikṣā or the Vedāṅga Sikṣā. The same may be said of Durga (c.1300 A.C.)³ the commentator of the Nirukta, and Sāyaṇa (1400 A.C.), as well as Someśvara⁴ and Rāmakaṣṇa⁵ about the date of whom we have no definite idea. But Madhusūdana Sarasvatī⁶ (c. 1500 A.C.) as well as the author of the Pārāśarī Sikṣā⁷ knew the PŚ. as the Vedāṅga and knew Pāṇini as its author. From the description of the Sikṣā given in the Śukranīti⁸ it appears that the author of this work too knew of the PŚ. to be a Vedāṅga. Thus we see that though there might have occurred some break in the tradition about Pāṇini's authorship of the PŚ. it was taken as the most important Sikṣā or the Vedāṅga by eminent authorities probably from 500 A.C. to 1500 A.C. The question why the authorship of the PŚ. came later to be obscured is difficult to answer.

¹ mahatā prayatnena śabdān uccaranti vāyur nābher utthitāḥ urasi vistīrṇaḥ kaṇṭhe vicartitaḥ mūrdhānam āhatya vaktre vicaran vīvidhān śabdān abhivyañjayati. PŚ. 3-4.

² vitarakitaḥ purā buddhyā kvacidarthe niveśitaḥ
karaṇebhyo vivṛttena dhvaninā so'nugṛhyate.
v.l. karaṇebhyo vivṛttena is evidently due to confusion.

³ Durga in his introduction to the Comm. of the Nirukta quotes PŚ. 3. from what he calls the Vedāṅga Sikṣā (see Nirukta in Bomb. Skt. Series, p. 24). The date of the author is about 1300 A.C. (Introduction to the Nirukta, by Sarup, p. 59).

⁴ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁵ Ed. Simon, p. 42; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶ tatra sarva-vedasādhāraṇasikṣā.....atha śikṣāṃ pravakṣyāmīti pañcakhāṇḍāt: itā Pāṇinīnā prakāśitā. Prasthāna-bbēda, ed. Weber, p. 16.

⁷ ŚS. p. 60.

⁸ svarataḥ kālataḥ sthāna-prayatnānupradānataḥ.
śavanādyaiś ca sū śikṣā varṇanāṃ pāṭha-sikṣaṇāt.

29. In the absence of suitable data on the point we may explain this obscurity by the fact that the ancient Indians did not set any value on history as such, their only care being the Śāstra and not its authors or their dates. They however took notice of the most important fact about the PŚ. that it was a Vedāṅga and concerned all the Vedas.¹

But the great importance attached to the PŚ. by these authorities is apparently weakened on the following grounds: The places of articulation for the sounds *r*, *e*, *o*, *r* and *l* as given in the PŚ. do not correspond to those given in the Prātiśākhya and some of the late Śikṣās; and sounds like *ḷ* (ळ) and *ḷh* (ळ्ह) found in some Vedic texts do not occur at all in the PŚ. though they make casual appearance in the Prātiśākhya.

30. But looking more closely into these cases we shall find that there cannot be any real difficulty on these points. For we have seen before (§ 22a) that one aspect of different treatises on the Vedic phonetics is that they in a way help to trace the development of the spoken Indo-Aryan since the inception of its tendencies towards reaching to the Middle Indo-Aryan stage, and it is pretty sure that these tendencies interfered with the correct pronunciation of the Vedic mantras. Thus *ḷ* (ळ) and *ḷh* (ळ्ह) can easily be explained as later developments.² Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks that these sounds were non-existent in the Vedas and developed later due to Dravidian influence.³ This opinion seems to be extremely sound. The change of place in case of the articulation of *r*, *e*, *o*, *r* and *l* also can be explained in a similar fashion as later developments. Thus we should have no objection in admitting the Vedāṅga character of the PŚ.

¹ See notes above.

² Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Thumb-Hirt, *Handbuch des Skt.*, Teil. I. § 21. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, Vol. I, pp. 255-256.

³ *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, Vol. I, Sec. I, p. 57; Sec. II, pp. 81, 114, 130, 137, 142, 154. South Indian Skt. MSS. very often interchange *ḷ* and *l* without any principle. This probably points to the Dravidian origin of *ḷ* (*vide* Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*).

There seems to be another fact which goes in favour of the view presented above. As we have seen before (§ 25) that the PŚ. has a theory of production of the speech-sounds (3-6). The (Taitt. Pr.¹) surely betrays an acquaintance with it. The acquaintance of the Vāj. Pr. is probably clearer.² The Ṛk. Pr. (I, 18)³ too seems to have known this. It is not clear if the APr. knew of it. But the silence of the last work may well be explained by assuming that its author did not probably consider it necessary to include the theory in his sūtras, for he might well have assumed a knowledge of it on the part of the readers.

31. Thus we can well take the PŚ. as the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga. This view will be further strengthened when we shall discuss below the relation of the PŚ. with the Aṣṭādhyāyī and will produce evidence to show that the two works in all likelihood proceeded from the same master's hand. But before taking up the relation between the PŚ. and the Aṣṭādhyāyī we shall have to examine the claim of another work for the position of the Vedāṅga. Dr. Raghu Vira in an article named 'Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini' published in the J R A S, 1931, (pp. 653 ff.) claims to have discovered the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini. From the several arguments which he puts forth with great enthusiasm it may appear that the sūtra work of his discovery (DPS. or Dayānanda's Phonetic Sūtras) is the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. But on a closer examination of the arguments we find that they are not as sound as Dr. Raghu Vira believes them to be. He starts with the assumption that the DPS. is the lost phonetic sūtras of Pāṇini though no independent authority

¹ उरसि मन्द्रम् । कण्ठे मध्यमम् । शिरसि तारम् (XXIII, 10-12. Whitney, XXIII. 10). See foot-note of § 28.

² अथ शिखाविहिताः । सवनक्रमेणोरःकण्ठमध्यानि (I, 29-30). By Śikṣā Kātyāyana seems to mean the PŚ.

³ कण्ठोऽकारः प्रथमपञ्चमी च दावृषाणी केचिदिता उरस्वी (I, 18.).

The view of 'some' who took 'h' as an *urasya* sound can be compared with the PŚ. 10. which has 'h' as *aurasa* under certain circumstances.

attests its existence or the story of its alleged loss before the present time. Dr. Raghu Vira's allegation that Patañjali and other grammarians borrowed passages or their substance from this sūtra work (DPS.) is extremely unhappy. For this borrowing might well have occurred the other way round, that is, the author of the DPS. might have culled his materials from sundry sources such as the Mahābhāṣya and the Varṇa-sūtras of Candragomin.¹ In the face of facts that there is no ancient or modern MS. or any descriptive reference of it in any early or late work to vouch for its authenticity,² one may well be justified to take such a view. Along with this should be considered the following facts about the PŚ. :

(i) It has been styled as the Vedāṅga Sikṣā by Sāyaṇa and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

(ii) It has no less than what may be called *five* different recensions, and numerous MSS. of each such recension.

(iii) It has two old commentaries. Thus we see that in marked contrast to the PŚ. the DPS., the alleged phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini, have remained in oblivion for about two millennia and a half to be discovered only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Though such a discovery may not be totally impossible, one need be very cautious in such matters. The discovery of Kauṭilya's and Bhāsa's works cannot be brought here as a parallel case, for quotation from these works have been shown to have occurred in fairly old documents.

32. From materials which Dr. Raghu Vira has so ably collected in his article³ we can well see that the DPS. is not an old work. On referring to a recent catalogue (p.12) of the Vaidika Pustakālaya, Ajmer (Samvat 1988), publisher to the Ārya Samāja, we find that the DPS. constitutes the first among

¹ The Varṇa-sūtras have been given in the Appendix. Dr. Paul Thieme seems to disbelieve that the Pāṇini's Sikṣā of Dr. Raghu Vira was quoted by Patañjali (see *op. cit.*, p. 88).

² Non-existence of any MS. of the DPS. has also raised a doubt in the mind of Dr. Paul Thieme as regards the authorship of the work (*ibid.*).

³ J R A S, 1931, pp. 653 ff.

the fourteen sections of the *Vedāṅga Prakāśa*, a grammar which Svāmī Dayānanda compiled for the use of the Vedic students. It is probably due to inadvertence that Dr. Raghu Vira did not mention this fact in his article. The different sections of the *Vedāṅga Prakāśa* including the first one have also been issued separately. The first of these sections bears the title of the *Varṇoc-cāraṇa-Śikṣā* by Pāṇini. This sūtra-work as has been shown by Dr. Raghu Vira (*loc. cit.*) resembles the *Varṇa-sūtras* of Candragomin, the Buddhist grammarian, who flourished about 500 A.C.¹ Considering the great influence which Candragomin exercised on the grammarians of Pāṇini's school (the Kāśikā and the Vākyapadīya showing traces of such influence) it is quite possible that some late grammarian re-edited and amplified the *Varṇa-sūtras* of Candragomin and fathered this upon Pāṇini, evidently for imparting to it a superior authority. Though there is no sufficient material to prove this we are inclined to suggest that this late grammarian was Svāmī Dayānanda himself who, among other things was a very close student of Sanskrit grammars as his *Vedāṅgaprakāśa* and the edition of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* show. But whatever may be the actual fact about the authorship of the *DPS.*, it is sure that the work is neither from the hands of Pāṇini nor an old one.²

33. *Its Author.* Now if we are sure about the fact that the *PS.* is the real *Vedāṅga Śikṣā* we shall have to take up the problem of its authorship. Though the work has probably been drawn upon by very old authors³ its author has not been

¹ This date is assigned by S. R. Belvalkar (*Systems of Skt. Grammars*, p. 58). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma places C. in the 7th century (See his *Critical Studies*, p. 8) at the latest.

² Dr. Paul Thieme with a somewhat different line of argument disallows the genuineness of Pāṇini's *Phonetic Sūtras* discovered by Dr. Raghu Vira (see his *Pāṇini and the Veda*, p. 86). We do not agree with him on all points.

³ Dr. Paul Thieme thinks that if Patañjali knew the *PS.* as Pāṇini's work, he would have referred to it 'in unambiguous terms' and would have treated it with the same respect as Pāṇini's grammar (p. 86). Hence, as the *PS.* has not been referred to by Patañjali, one may according to Dr. Thieme reject its relation with Pāṇini. But it would be a mistake to place too much confidence on the argument of silence, which may be otherwise explained.

mentioned till very late (see § 28). The earliest evidence about the existence of the complete work is perhaps the Agni Purāṇa which is usually placed in the 800 A.C. But it does not refer to Pāṇini as the author of the Śikṣā though in case of the metrical version of Piṅgala's prosody the source has been mentioned (see Notes on 1). This can well be taken to mean that to the compiler of the Agni Purāṇa the authorship of the PŚ. was not known. But we have seen before (§ 29) that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in the 15th century in no unambiguous terms considers Pāṇini to be the author of this Śikṣā though the Śikṣā-Prakāśa, a commentary to the PŚ. which is possibly earlier (c. 1200 A.C.) than Madhusūdana, ascribes the latter work to Piṅgala. Thus the problem of the authorship of the PŚ. with its late and mutually conflicting data seems to possess no dependable means for its solution. But we need not feel hopeless in the matter. External evidence failing we turn to the PŚ. itself and find some important hints which are being discussed below.

(a) It is usually known that Pāṇini was a great grammarian but his greatness as a phonetician is no less considerable. But unfortunately it has scarcely been noticed and far less emphasised. This sort of defective appreciation of Pāṇini is due to the mistaken notion commonly held that the Prātiśākhya, even if they are not actual grammars, are grammatical writings.¹ But in fact the Prātiśākhya are purely phonetical treatises. Viewed in this light we find that Pāṇini has treated in his grammar *svara* (pitch) and *mātrā* (quantity) of vowels as well as *saṃhitā* (euphonic combination).² These items as we have seen before (§ 16) are, according to the Taitt. Upaniṣad, the three

¹ Winternitz, Vol. III, pp. 381-392; Lakṣman Sarup, the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, English Translation and Notes, London, 1921, p. 220; S. Varma, Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observation of Indian Grammarians, pp. 14-15; S. Sastri, 'The Rktaṇṭra,' Introduction, pp. 1-2.

² The Aṣṭādhyāyī treats of *svara* in chapters VI (1. 58-2, 199) and VIII (1. 27-71) and in many other places. The *mātrā* has been treated in chapter VI (3. 111, 138) and the *saṃhitā* in Chapters VI (1. 72 f and 3. 114f) and VIII (3. 1-4; 43-48).

among the six branches of the Śikṣā or phonetics. Can there be a better evidence of Pāṇini's masterly knowledge of phonetics? But this evidence alone is not sufficient to identify Pāṇini with the author of the PŚ. What we may gather from the above is that of the two names Pāṇini and Piṅgala proposed for the authorship of the PŚ. the case for the former is stronger.

(b) Besides this a comparison of the contents of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the PŚ. further strengthens the claim of Pāṇini to the authorship of the PŚ. From such comparison we gather the following facts¹ pointing to the handiwork of the same author.

(i) In the PŚ. Pāṇinian Pratyāhāras, such as *ac*, *car*, *ghaś*, *yaṇ*, *jaś*, *śar*, *hal*, have been requisitioned.

(ii) *ku*, *cu*, *ṭu*, *tu* and *pu* have been used to indicate respectively *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* groups. This convention has been formulated in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 69) *anudit savarnasya cā 'pratyayah*.

(iii) The PŚ. (17) includes the Anunāsika into speech-sounds while its definition has been given in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 9.) *mukha-nāsikā-vacano' nunāsikah*.

(iv) The explanation of terms like *hrasva*, *dirgha* and *pluta* has also been given there (I. 2. 27, *ukālo'j hrasva-dirgha-plutah*).

(v) According to a rule of *ṇa-tva* as laid down in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (VIII. 4.1). *n* after *r* and *ṣ* turns to *ṇ*. From this we get *r* as a cerebral sound. According to the PŚ. (11) too *r* as well as *ṣ* is a cerebral sound (Prātiśākhya have *r* either in the roots of the teeth or close to the teeth (see Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 6).

All these fairly settle the question of the authorship of the PŚ. Now the important question arises which of the two, the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the PŚ., was composed first. To find this out we must remember once more the different branches of the Śikṣā as enumerated in the Taitt. Upaniṣad, *varṇa*, *svara*, *mātrā*, *bala*, *sāma* and *santāna*. Pāṇini as we have

¹ Pāṇini's Śikṣā brought to light by Dr. Raghu Vira lacks similar facts, hence Dr. Paul Thieme rightly rejects the genuineness of the work (see *op. cit.*, p. 86).

seen before (§33 a) treated *svara*, *mātrā* and *santāna* (*saṃhitā*) in his grammar. Of the remaining three branches *bala* and *sāma* can scarcely be the fit subject of a theoretical treatise. Hence *varṇa* (speech-sounds) alone was left without treatment in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Now Pāṇini, who undertook to build up his great *Śabdānuśāsana*, the *Vyākaraṇa-Vedāṅga*,¹ could not very naturally think of leaving *varṇa* without any treatment. This is probably the reason why he wrote the PS. which is as it were a companion to his famous grammar.

34. It may now be asked why Pāṇini wrote the PS. in metre and not in prose sūtras. We may think that such a question is not difficult to answer. Considering the simplicity and shortness of the subject to be treated Pāṇini, it may be assumed, adopted in case of the *Sikṣā* the metrical style which for the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with its complex subject-matter would have been quite unfit.

35. Now this being practically certain that the PS. as reconstructed here, is from the hands of Pāṇini we get some rough idea about the age of the work. But as the PS. seems to offer some fresh data for this purpose we shall discuss below various points of view on Pāṇini's age and try to suggest some time in which the great Indian grammarian was likely to have flourished. Pāṇini has variously been placed between 800 B.C.-400 B.C.² The view of those who hold that Pāṇini should be placed in about 350 B.C. should be considered first.³ Their main argument against an earlier date is the fact that Pāṇini

¹ Winternitz does not admit (*Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. III, p. 383) that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is a *Vedāṅga*, but this is against the traditional Indian view. Madhusūdana in his *Prasthānabheda* writes तदेतत् विमुनिय्याकरणं वेदाङ्गं माह्वरमिष्याख्यायते (ed. Weber, pp. 16-17). In the introduction to the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* (ed. Venkatesvar, Bombay, 1914) Mahānāhopādhyāya Pandit Shivadatta Śāstri discusses the claim of all extant *Vyākaraṇas* for *Vedāṅgātva* and concludes पाणिनीयव्याकरणस्यैव वेदाङ्गत्वायुपगमस् स्थात् (pp. 6-8).

² Winternitz, Vol. III, pp. 383 f.; S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 136; Järbich, *Pāṇini*, p. 8; Keith, *HOS*, Vol. 18, pp. clxviii f. Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, 1861.

Dr. Paul Thieme very rightly characterizes the use of this date as 'due to a common but wholly unproved belief' (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

used the word *yavana* which they think could not have entered India before Alexander's invasion. But this argument has been very ably refuted by Professors S. K. Belvalkar and H. Sköld—Belvalkar, *Systems of Skt. grammar*, pp. 15 ff.; Sköld, *Papers on Pāṇini*, pp. 24 ff.). The latter has shown very conclusively "that old Indian *yavana* must have entered this language before 520 B. C., and there is no reason at all to locate Pāṇini as late as after Alexander the Great on account of the here-quoted sūtra." "Moreover Prof. Liebich has proved that Pāṇini's rules apply to the language of the Brāhmaṇas, some obsolete (perhaps archaic) forms only separating his language from that of the Brāhmaṇas (*Papers on Pāṇini*, p. 38)." On the basis of this finding of Prof. Liebich, Prof. Sköld thinks that Pāṇini must have belonged to the latter Vedic period of the Indian literature (*loc. cit.*). Prof. Liebich however is not willing to assign Pāṇini to a period before Buddha (*Pāṇini*, p. 8; Winternitz, Vol. III, p. 383). But he seems to have been over-cautious in the matter. For he himself admits, according to Prof. Sköld, that Pāṇini seems to be less lax than that of the Sūtras (*op. cit.*, p. 41).¹ Prof. Sköld concludes on the basis of this view of Prof. Liebich that we could be inclined to place Pāṇini in a period shortly preceding the Sūtra literature proper (*loc. cit.*). Now the sūtra works which are considered to be among the oldest have been placed in 500 B.C. (Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 136).

36. From the above discussion it appears that Pāṇini was most probably earlier than 500 B.C. And there seems to be other facts too which seem to corroborate this view. For example the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which mentions the Brāhmaṇa literature no less than four times (II. 3. 60; IV. 1. 66, 3. 103; V. 1. 62) and distinguishes between the old and the new Brāhmaṇas, does not refer to the *Āraṇyaka* literature though the word '*āraṇyaka*'

¹ Keith on the doubtful authority of Pāṇini, VI. 1, 157, concludes that the grammarian knew Pāraskara the sūtrakāra. His views about Pāṇini's acquaintance with Kātyāyana the Śrautasūtrakāra, and the Kauśika sūtrakāra also seems to be inadmissible. (Translation of the Yajurveda, p. clxix.)

in the sense of 'forest dweller' has once (IV. 1. 129) been mentioned. That Kātyāyana composed a Vārttika to extend the use of the word 'āranyaka' to an *adhyāya* (most probably of the Brāhmaṇa) may be taken to mean that in Pāṇini's time the Āraṇyaka appendices to the Brāhmaṇas were not yet written or even if they might have been written they were not styled as the Āraṇyakas. Now accepting the second alternative as being more likely we can place Pāṇini at the close of the Brāhmaṇa period. Along with this we should mark another fact, *viz.*, the non-occurrence of the word 'upaniṣad' in the sense of 'secret instructions'¹ and religio-philosophical texts containing them in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (Pāṇini, I. 4. 79, indeed has the word 'upaniṣad' in the compound *upaniṣatkṛtvā*)² which literally means 'sitting very close to', *i.e.*, in a private manner. Now we may well conclude that the Āraṇyakas which contain Upaniṣads were not old at the time of Pāṇini, for they were not yet known as Āraṇyakas or Upaniṣads. Now the oldest among the Upaniṣads are considered to have been compiled about 500 B.C.³ Hence we should not place Pāṇini later than 500 B.C. It is likely that Pāṇini lived some time earlier than this.⁴ The diphthongal character of *e* and *o* which Pāṇini has recorded in his Śikṣā (13) shows that the language described by him was in the same stage of evolution as the Old Persian of the Cuneiform Inscriptions (600 B.C.) of Persepolis. For this latter language too has diphthongs corresponding to our *e* and *o* (see Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse*, pp. 55 ff.). As we have no Old Persian Śikṣā we do not know what the actual phonetic value of diphthongs *ai* (Skt. *e*) and *au* (Skt. *o*) was. It is likely that the graphic system was ahead of the phonetic development. The fact that Pāṇini has

1 Deussen, *Philosophy of Upanishads*, pp. 10-15. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 38.

2 Cf. Keith. *Tr. of Yajurveda*, HOS., p. clxvii.

3 Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

4 Dr. Paul Thieme seems to support such a conclusion in his following remark: "Pāṇini's grammar must have been composed at a time when the language of the North was yet felt to be necessary" (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

given rules in his grammar of the proper accentuation of the *bhāṣā* words (VI. 1. 181, *vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām*; VIII. 2.98, *Pūrvam tu bhāṣāyām*) shows that the current language of his time was much ahead of the classical Sanskrit (which has lost its accents) and was nearer the Vedic phase (though in its very late form) of the Old Indo-Aryan than the latter. In addition to this we should also reckon the fact that Pāṇini's grammar was originally accented like a Mantra or Brāhmaṇa text (*vide ante* § 26) and as such it should be assigned at the latest to the close of the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

COMMENTARIES TO THE PŚ.

37. *The Śikṣā Pañjikā.* The MSS. and the printed text from which the present edition has been re-constructed have been described before (§ 26) in connexion with the text of the Pñj. recension of the PŚ. We are now giving below the main features of the commentary reconstructed. The Pñj. recension of the PŚ. as we have seen before (§ 26) came into existence between 800 and 1100 A.C. Hence the Pañjikā itself may be tentatively placed somewhere in the 12th century. Thus the work which may be as old as seven centuries is sure to contain some old materials. Some of these, such as a reference to Audavraji, has already been pointed out (§ 2b). These materials will be discussed below. According to the Pañjikā, the Śikṣā is the science by which the pronunciation of speech-sounds is learnt (*Śikṣyate'nayā varṇoccāraṇam iti Śikṣā*, p.8, lines 3-4). This is to be compared with the term *varṇaśikṣā* occurring in the RPr. (XIV. 30). It is not possible that the author of this work has referred by this term to Prātiśākhya and this being the case *varṇaśikṣā* relates to the Śikṣā of the early period when it still lacked the later elaboration as observed in the Prātiśākhyas (see §§ 16, 23). Hence the RPr. has scarcely any legitimate claim to interpret this word as 'Prātiśākhya', which must have existed considerably earlier than the time when the RPr. was compiled. The Pañjikā in the definition of Śikṣā quoted above seems to have preserved this tradition which agreed so well with the fact that the PŚ. deals merely with the utterance of the speech-sounds of the Old Indo-Aryan as represented in Vedic texts. Besides this it gives us rare informations on the following points :

(a) There are two anusvāras (p. 10, line 14; p. 12, lines 9-10). No other authorities seem to have taken notice of this fact.

(b) A quotation from the Brhadāraṇyaka Up. (p. 15, lines 22-23) occurring in this commentary varies to some extent from the text of this work as received from Śaṅkarācārya.

(c) In the reconstruction of the PŚ. 13 this commentary has given a valuable hint (see p. 18, lines 6-7). From this hint we may assume that the author of the Pañjikā had PŚ. 13 as reconstructed by us. But he however could not rightly explain this passage.

(d) It gives us the old name for anusvāra as *anusvārah nāsi-kyah* (p. 18, lines 12-13). For details about the anusvāra see Note 27.

So much for the importance of the Pañjikā. In spite of its valuable aspects it should not be considered infallible. It has the weakness of average commentaries of Skt. and Pkt. works. Sometimes it gives information and explanation which are not accurate. For example, the Pañjikā considers *prayatna* as twofold in spite of its Śikṣā text (see p. 14, line 13). It is possible that he failed to understand the passage (18) properly. The same appears to be the case in its determination of the quantity of the component parts of *e*, *o* and *ai*, *au* (See p. 18, lines 6-7; and Note 23). The author of the Pañjikā is ignorant about the authorship of the PŚ. which it considers to have been written in conformity with the teaching of Pāṇini. In this he simply believed what was given in the first couplet (*Pāṇinīyam matam yathā*, of the Pñj. version of the Śikṣā). This however weakens the testimony of the author of the Śikṣā-Prakāśa commentary, who considers that Piṅgala, the younger brother of Pāṇini, was the author of the PŚ. (p. 23, line 8).

37. *The Śikṣā-Prakāśa*. This commentary has been received in corrupt¹ MSS., at least the two we could directly or indirectly use are such (see § 2 c). It is inferior in worth to the Pañjikā discussed above. But it has importance in the following points :

¹ The corruption is most palpable in the passage at p. 26, lines 22 ff.

(a) It ascribes the authorship of the PŚ. to Piṅgala, the younger brother of Pāṇini (see p. 23, line 7). The authenticity of this information has been discussed before (§23).

(b) It defines the Śikṣā as a science for the utterance of (proper) pitch (of vowels) and speech-sounds in general (*Śikṣā svaravarṇoccāraṇam śāstram*, p. 23, line 15). This is different from the definition given in the Pāñjikā (see §37). Apparently slight though this definition is, it is not without importance. In the Pāñjikā definition we find speech-sounds only as subject of instruction while in the Prakāśa *svara* (pitch accent) comes in. It may be assumed that the two definitions point to two distinct traditions having their origin in two successive stages in study of Vedic Phonetics. That is, speech-sounds came first of all to be studied and the pitch received attention later or at least was treated in a śāstra later (see also §12).

(c) In the reconstruction of the PŚ. 13 this commentary gives valuable help. Though the MSS. are defective on this point the original reading of the passage before the author of the Prakāśa can easily be guessed from them (see p. 31, line 16).

(d) This commentary ascribes to the Bṛhaddevatā of Śaunaka the following couplet: *svaro varṇo' kṣaram mātṛa viniyogārtham (?) eva ca, mantram jijñāsamānena veditavyam pade pade* (p. 24, lines 6-7).

38. Of the two available commentaries of the PŚ., the Śikṣā-Pāñjikā seems to be the earlier because it is written in a simpler style and has better acquaintance with the old phonetical traditions. The first point will be clear to any one who will compare for himself the language of the two commentaries. And to substantiate the second point we shall refer the treatment of the Anusvāra. About the exact manner of its pronunciation there is difference of opinion among specialists in the Indo-Aryan linguistics (see Wackernagel, I. §§223-224). Whitney understands the phonetic value of the Anusvāra which is nothing but the nasal vowel (T. Pr. 2. 30, JAOS., Vol. 10, p. lxxxvi;

Mem. Soc. ling. 2. 194 ff. ref. Wackernagel). But Wackernagel and others do not accept this. After a fresh examination of the various Prātiśākhya passages together with the opinion of PŚ. on this point we find Whitney to be right. The Anusvāra is nothing but a nasalization of the preceding vowel. The fuller name of the Anusvāra was Anusvāra-*Nāsikyaḥ* or Anusvāraḥ *Nāsikyaḥ*, a post-vocal nasal or a nasal vowel. It has sometimes been called simply *Nāsika* or *Nāsikya* too. That the name Anunāsika, which according to Pāṇini (I.1.8) means only nasal stops, has been used to indicate nasal vowels for a pretty long time, seems to have been due to a misunderstanding (more about this point in Notes to the PŚ.).

39. Now the anonymous author of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā seems to have been fully aware of the true nature of the Anusvāra. Hence in his comment on Pñj. 17 (PŚ. 14-15) he quotes from Audavraji an entire passage enumerating the Ayogavāhas as follows :

अयोगवाहाः अः इति विसर्जनीयः × इति जिह्वामूलीयः, × इति उपध्मानीयः
अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्यः इत्ययोगवाहाः ।

This passage occurs in the first Prapāṭhaka of the Ṛkṭantra (ed. S. Sastri, p. 2, ll. 11-12) with the difference that the latter reads *हुमिचनुनासिकः* (v.l. *हिमिचनुनासिकम्*, °नासिक्यः). In view of the fact that the Ṛkṭantra mentions अनुस्वारो not much later, and अनुस्वार as one of the Ayogavāhas, it is evident that the extant Ṛkṭantra is corrupt in the passage *हुमित्यनुनासिकः*. The reading अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्यः surely goes to the Ur-text of the Audavraji¹ which must have been partially included in his work by the author² or the Vṛttikāra or the Ṛkṭantra.

¹ But some of the other quotations in the Pañjikā from Audavraji are corrupt. (See below.)

² Audavraji who has been mentioned in the sūtra 60 of the Ṛkṭantra can scarcely be its author. The first Prapāṭhaka which is not counted as an integral part of the Ṛkṭantra by the MS. B was in all likelihood a part of the original work of Audavraji (see ed. S. Sastri, Introduction, p. 34).

40. Thus it appears that the author of the Pañjikā flourished at a time when the original work of Audavraji was still available in a more or less correct form and in fact he may be older than the Vṛttikāra of the Rktaṇtra who appears by no means to be modern. Thus apart from offering a help in solving certain problems connected with the text of the PŚ. (see Note) the Śikṣā-Pañjikā has importance on account of the information it gives about Audavraji, who has been mentioned, as far as we know, in four other works :—the Nāradya Śikṣā (II. 8. 5) and the Śikṣā-Prakāśa commentary to the PŚ. and the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda (Ind. Stud. IV, pp. 374-386) and the Rktaṇtra (S. 60)¹.

Some of Audavraji's passages cited in the Śikṣā Pañjikā occur in the Rktaṇtra with its vṛtti and some occur in a distorted manner and some do not occur. Let us quote them below in a classified manner.

(a) *Occurring in full.*

- i. अनन्त्यान्तसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वगुणः (RT. 2. 14).
- ii. सृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम् दुःसृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम् (RT. 3. 1).
- iii. अनुस्वारौ अं आ इत्यनुस्वारौ, ऋस्वाद्दीर्घौ दीर्घाद्द्वौ वर्णः (RT. 2. 14. 15).

(b) *Occurring with different readings.*

i. द्वौ नादानुप्रदानौ (cf. RT. 3. 3. नादानुप्रदानाः) The correct reading seems to have been द्वौ नादस्वासानुप्रदानौ ।

ii. स्पर्शं वर्गस्य स्पर्शग्रहणे च ज्ञेयम् । वर्गस्य ग्रहणं स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः ; cf. स्पर्शं र्गस्य ॥३॥ स्पर्शवर्गस्य ग्रहणं विज्ञेयम् । स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः (RT. 7. 1-2) The RT. reading seems to be correct.

iii. अयोगवाहाः अः इति विसर्जनोप × क इति जिह्वामूलोप × प इति उपध्मानोप अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्वः इत्ययोगवाहाः (Diff. with RT. shown above).

¹ The very fact that the Pañjikā does not quote from any of the late Śikṣā works except the Nāradya Śikṣā probably show that these latter are later in origin than the Pañjikā or at least they were not yet counted as authority at its time. From this fact also we may assume the old age of the Pañjikā.

iv. श्वासोऽवोषाणां तृतीयात् प्रथमानामुभाववोषश्चतुर्थानां युग्माः सोष्माणम् (Cf. श्वासोऽवोषाणाम् । तनौयान् प्रथमानामुभौऽवतुर्थानां (R.T. 3. 3) also युग्माः सोष्माणः ॥६॥ (R.T. 7. 10).

(c) *Not occurring.*

i. निमेषकाला मात्रा स्यात् ।

Besides Audavraji the Pāṇjikā has laid the following works under contribution : Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śruti, Chāndogya Śruti (Upaniṣad), Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, Uṇādi Sūtras, Bhagavad Gītā, Patañjali, Manusamhitā, Ṛk-Prātiśākhya, Nāradiya Śikṣā.

41. In spite of its importance discussed above the author of the Pāṇjikā seems to have misunderstood the PŚ. very much; for example, his explanation of PŚ. 13 (= Pñj. 15) may be cited (see Note 23). But in this matter he seems to have been misguided by Uvaṭa¹ if the latter was his predecessor, or both he and Uvaṭa born long after Pāṇini, when the Middle Indo-Aryan speech-habits had already overwhelmed to a certain extent the purity of the Phonetic tradition among the Vedic priests, have independently failed to explain correctly the difference between *e* and *o* with *ai* and *au* respectively. Other features of the Pāṇjikā have been discussed in Notes.

42. The Śikṣā-Prakāśa or the Prakāśa does not seem to be a very old commentary to the PŚ. Some points regarding its date have been mentioned before. The Prakāśa quotes *verbatim* a passage (p. 23) from Viṣṇumitra's commentary to the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya. Now we do not possess any definite evidence about the time of Viṣṇumitra. The fragment of his writing prefixed to the available MSS. of Uvaṭa's commentary to the ṚPr. shows that he enjoyed some popularity among the Vedic priests and hence his fragment was saved from oblivion by putting it at the beginning of Uvaṭa's work. Thus we may assume that Viṣṇumitra was not later than Uvaṭa (11th century A.C.)

¹ Uvaṭa (on VPr. I. 73) is right so far in his analysis of *ai* and *au*, *a*-element of both being taken as equivalent to a *mātrā*, but his remark अनेनैव क्रमेण एकारीकारौ व्याख्यातौ is not clear and the view of unnamed authority (*kecid*) quoted by him is misleading.

This gives us the upper limit to the Prakāśa; the lower limit is to be had from the author's conjectural identity with the commentator of the Piṅgalacchandaḥ-Sūtras. This is 1300 A.C.

43. This commentary (Prakāśa) quotes from Pāṇini, Yāska, Nāradiya Śikṣā, Gautamī Śikṣā, Saunaka, Patañjali and Audavraji. The only quotation from the last authority seems to be taken not from any original work of Audavraji but from some author who quoted him. The case with the author of Pañjikā was different, for he quoted as much as he could (see before). The fact that the Prakāśa does not quote any of the late Śikṣās except the Nāradiya and the Gautamī Śikṣā probably shows that it is not quite modern.

Table C

A Conspectus of Text-units of different Recensions,
showing their relative position.

Note.—Numerals indicate the serial number of hemistichos in a particular recension.

| Hemistichos. | Rk. recension. | Yaj. recension. | Prk. recension. | Pnj. recension. | Ap. recension. | Reconstructed. |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| atha śikṣāp etc. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | ... |
| śāstrānu-pūrvyam „ | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | ... | ... |
| prasiddham api „ | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | ... | ... |
| punar vyakti- „ | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | ... | ... |
| triṣaṣṭiś catuṣ- „ | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | cf 1 | ... |
| Prākṛte Saṃskṛte „ | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | ... |
| svarā vipśatir „ | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 1 |
| yādayaś ca „ | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 3 | 2 |
| anuvāro visargaś „ | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 3 |
| duḥspṛṣṭaś cēti „ | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 5 | 4 |
| ātmā buddhyā „ | 11 | 15 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 5 |
| manaḥ kāyāgnim „ | 12 | 16 | 12 | 12 | 9 | 6 |
| mārutas tūrasi „ | 13 | 17 | 13 | 13 | 10 | 7 |
| prāstaḥ-savanayogap „ | 14 | 18 | 14 | 14 | 11 | 8 |
| kaṇṭhe mādhyan- „ | 15 | 19 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 9 |
| tārūp tārtiṣasavanap „ | 16 | 20 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 10 |
| sodirṇo mūrdhna- „ | 17 | 21 | 17 | 17 | 14 | 11 |
| varpāñ janayate „ | 18 | 22 | 18 | 18 | 15 | 12 |
| svarataḥ kālataḥ „ | 19 | 23 | 19 | 19 | 16 | 13 |
| iti varṇa-vidah „ | 20 | 24 | 20 | 20 | ... | 14 |
| udāttaś cānudāttaś „ | 21 | 45 | *21 | 21 | 17 | 15 |

Table C—(contd.)

| Hemistiches. | | | | Rk. recension. | Yaj. recension. | Prk. recension. | Pñj. recension. | AP. recension. | Reconstructed. |
|--------------------|------|-----|-----|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| hraavo dīrghaḥ | etc. | ... | ... | 22 | 46 | *22 | 22 | 18 | 16 |
| udātte niṣāda- | .. | ... | ... | 23 | 27 | *23 | ... | ... | ... |
| svarita-prabhavā | .. | ... | .. | 24 | 28 | *24 | ... | ... | ... |
| aṣṭau sthānāni | .. | ... | ... | 25 | 25 | 25 | 23 | 19 | 17 |
| jihvāmūlam ca | .. | ... | ... | 26 | 26 | 26 | 24 | 20 | 18 |
| obhāvaś ca | .. | ... | ... | 27 | 29 | *27 | ... | 21 | ... |
| jihvāmūlam upadhā | .. | ... | ... | 28 | 30 | *28 | .. | 22 | ... |
| yady obhāva | .. | ... | .. | 29 | 31 | *29 | ... | 23 | ... |
| svarāntaṁ | .. | ... | ... | 30 | 32 | *30 | ... | 24 | ... |
| hakāraṁ pāñcamair | .. | .. | ... | 31 | 13 | 31 | ... | 6 | 19 |
| anraṣyaṁ taṁ | .. | ... | ... | 32 | 14 | 32 | ... | 7 | ... |
| kaṇṭhyāv abā vicu | .. | ... | ... | 33 | 47 | 33 | 25 | 33 | 21 |
| syūr mūrdhanyā | .. | ... | ... | 34 | 48 | 34 | 26 | 34 | 22 |
| jihvāmūle tu | .. | .. | ... | 35 | 49 | 35 | 27 | 35 | 23 |
| e ai tu kaṇṭha- | .. | ... | ... | 36 | 50 | 40 | 28 | 36 | 24 |
| ardhamātrā tu | .. | ... | ... | 37 | 51 | 41 | 29 | 37 | 25 |
| ai(o)kāraṇkārayor | .. | ... | ... | 38 | 52 | 42 | 30 | ... | 26 |
| upadhāniya ūṣmā | .. | ... | ... | ... | 53 | 43 | 32 | ... | 28 |
| saṁvṛtaṁ mātṛkaṁ | .. | ... | ... | 39 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ghoṣā vā saṁvṛtāḥ | .. | ... | ... | 40 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| svarāpām ūṣmanāp | .. | ... | ... | 41 | 57 | 45 | ... | .. | ... |
| tebhyo' pi vivṛtāv | .. | ... | ... | 42 | 58 | 46 | ... | ... | 27 |
| anusvāra-yamānāp | .. | ... | ... | 43 | ... | ... | 31 | ... | 27 |
| ayogavāhā viñneyā | .. | ... | ... | 44 | 54 | 44 | 33 | 38 | 29 |
| alābu-vīpā- | .. | ... | ... | 45 | 55 | 36* | 34 | ... | 30 |
| anusvāras-tu | .. | ... | ... | 46 | 56 | 37* | 35 | ... | 31 |
| anusvāre vivṛtyāp | .. | ... | ... | 47 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table C—(contd.)

| Hemistiches. | Rk recension. | Yaj. recension. | Prk. recension. | Pñj. recension. | AP. recension. | Reconstructed. |
|---|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| dvir oṣṭhan tu etc | 48 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... |
| vyāghri yathā „ | 49 | 39 | 58 | ... | ... | ... |
| bhīṭā patanabhedā „ | 50 | 40 | 59 | .. | .. | ... |
| yathā saurāṣṭrikā „ | 51 | ... | *38 | ... | ... | ... |
| evam raṅgā „ | 52 | ... | *39 | ... | ... | ... |
| raṅga-varṇam „ | 53 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| dīrgha-svaram „ | 54 | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... |
| hṛdaye caika- „ | 55 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| nāśikāyām „ | 56 | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... |
| hṛdayāt utkaṣṭe „ | 57 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| mārdavam ca dvimātram,, | 58 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| madhye tu kampayet „ | 59 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| saraṅgam kampayet „ | 60 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| evam varpāḥ „ | 61 | 41 | 60 | ... | 31 | ... |
| samyag-varṇa- „ | 62 | 42 | 61 | ... | 32 | ... |
| abhyāsārthe drutām „ | ... | 43 | 62 | ... | ... | ... |
| śiṣyāpām upadeśārthe „ | ... | 44 | 63 | ... | ... | ... |
| gītī śiṅhri | 63 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| anarthajño' lpa- „ | 64 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| mādhuryam akṣara- „ | 65 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| dhairyam laya- „ | 66 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| śaṅkitam bhītam „ | 67 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| kākasvaram śiraṣigam „ | 68 | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... |
| urāṁśu-daṣṭam „ | 69 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| niṣpīḍitam grasta- „ | 70 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| prātḥ pathen „ | 71 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| mādhyaṇdine „ | 72 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

॥१॥

I. संस्कृतं मूलम् (The Reconstructed Text)

[वर्णसमान्नायः]

[अ इ उ ण् ॥ ऋ लृ क् ॥ ए ओ ङ् ॥ ऐ औ च् ॥
ह य व र ट् ॥ ल ण् ॥ ज म ङ् ण न म् ॥ भ भ ङ् ॥
घ ठ ध ष् ॥ ज व ग ङ द श् ॥ ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त व् ॥
क प य् ॥ श ष स र् ॥ ह ल् ॥]

[वर्णसंख्या]

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥१॥

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क ष पौ चापि पराश्रयौ ।

दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः झुत एव च ॥२॥

[वर्णोत्पादो वर्णविभागश्च]

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यर्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥३॥

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।

प्रातःसवनयोगं तं कृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥४॥

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
 तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥५॥
 सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्नाभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।
 वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥६॥
 स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
 इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥७॥

[स्वरत्रयं कालत्रयञ्च]

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
 ऋस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥८॥

[उच्चारण-स्थानानि]

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
 जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥९॥
 हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।
 औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठग्रमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१०॥
 कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।
 स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥११॥
 जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
 ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१२॥
 अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।
 ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥१३॥
 अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिकास्थानमुच्यते ।
 उपध्यानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके ॥१४॥

अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ।
अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषोऽदन्तमूल्यः खराननु ॥१५॥
अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं क्लोः शषसेषु च ।

[प्रयत्न-भेदाः]

अचोऽस्मृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमस्मृष्टाः शलः स्मृताः ॥१६॥
शेषाः स्मृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता

[अनुप्रदान-भेदाः]

निबोधानुप्रदानतः ।

अमोऽनुनासिका नक्को नादिनो हभ्रषः स्मृताः ॥१७॥
ईषन्नादा यणो जश्च श्वासिनस्तु खप्तादयः ।
ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याट् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥१८॥

॥२॥

II. अग्निपुराणान्तर्गता (The Agni-Purāṇa Recension)

वक्ष्ये ^१शिखां त्रिषष्टिः स्युर्वर्णा वा ^२चतुरधिकाः ।

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ॥१॥

॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च ^३यमाः स्मृताः ।

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ^४ × क ^५पौ चापि पराश्रितौ ॥२॥

॥२॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति ^६विज्ञेयो ^७लृकारः स्मृत एव च ।^८

^९हकारं पञ्चमैर्युतमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ॥३॥

॥१०॥ औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठमाहुरसयुतम् ।

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान् ^{१०}मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ॥४॥

॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ।

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् ^{११}मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ॥५॥

॥४॥ ^{१२}प्रातःसवनयोगं तं कुन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ।

कण्ठे ^{१३}माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ॥६॥

1. M. शिखान्.

2. M. चतुरधिकाः.

3. M. समा; for यमाः.

4. M. पौखौ for × क ^५पौ.

5. M. परान्वितौ for पराश्रितौ.

6. M. विज्ञेया.

7. MPbc. एकारः for लृकारः.

8. In all MSS. after 3a occurs the following : रङ्गश्च खे अरं प्रोक्तं हकारः पञ्चमैर्युतः ।

अन्तस्थाभिः समायुक्तः औरः कण्ठ एव सः ॥ For रङ्गश्च खे अरं Pac read वक्ष्ये मुखेऽवरं and for प्रोक्तं हकारं Pbc read प्रोक्तमकारं, and for कण्ठ एव सः Pbc has कण्ठ ए कलः.

M. आत्मबुद्ध्या समेत्यर्थः.

9. V. om. See Introduction 2a.

10. M. मनोयुक्ते.

11. M. मन्त्र' for मन्द्र', Mb. माधम्.

12. M. °योगस्तु.

13. M. माध्यन्दिनं युतं.

॥5॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ।

सोदीर्णो भूर्ध्रभिहतो वक्तृमापद्य मारुतः ॥७॥

॥6॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ।

॥7a॥ स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ॥८॥

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥8॥ ऋसो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि^१ ॥९॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥9॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१०॥

^१ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शषसा रेफ एव च ।

जिह्वामूलम् उपधा च गतिरष्टविधोष्णः ॥११॥

यद्योभावप्रसम्भानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।

स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद्भक्तमूष्णः ॥१२॥

^२कुतीर्यादागतं दधम् अपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।

^३न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्विषात् ॥१३॥

सुतीर्यादागतं व्यक्तं ^४स्त्रान्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।

सुखरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म ^५राजते ॥१४॥

न करालो न लम्बोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।

गदगदो बहुजिह्वश्च न वर्णान् वक्तुमर्हति ॥१५॥

^६एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता नातिपीडिताः ।

सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥१६॥

1. P. प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः.

2. M. °वचि.

3. M. स्त्रभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च and P. अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च for ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च.

4. M. कुतीर्याद°.

5. P. reads एकसुचारणं पापमेवसुचारणं शुभम् instead of 13b (न तस्य पाठे etc.) and M. एवसुचारण.....शुभम्.

6. M. नास्त्रायं.

7. M. राजनि.

8. Pbcd give this couplet preceded by यथा व्याघ्री हरत् पुमान् दंष्ट्राभ्यां न च पोढयेत् ।—(Yajus. 20a). P. gives 17b-18a as its 18, and 19b-20a as its 20.

¹कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्यां ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१७॥

जिह्वाभूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।

॥12॥ ए ऐ तु ²कण्ठतालव्यावोच्चौ कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥१८॥

॥13a॥ अर्द्धमात्रा तु ³कण्ठस्य एकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥15a॥ अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥१९॥

॥16b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः⁴ शलः⁵ स्मृताः ।

शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥२०॥

॥17॥ अमोऽनुनासिका नक्तो नादिनो ह्रस्वः स्मृतः ।

ईषन्नादा यणो जश्च श्वासिनश्च⁶ खप्तादयः ।

॥18॥ ¹⁰ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥२१॥

1. P. कण्ठावहाविचुयशा.

2. P. °तालव्या ए औ.

3. MV. कण्ठस्य एकारैकार°.

4. P. नेमाः (म) स्पृष्टाः and M. नो माः स्पृष्टाः for -नेमस्पृष्टाः.

5. MV. शरः for शलः.

6. PM. निबोधाय प्रधानतः for निबोधानुप्रदानतः.

7. M. यमोऽनुनासिका नक्तो नादिनो.

8. P. तमश्चैव, M. प(य)श्च यश्च.

9. M. यकादयः.

10. P. ईषच्छ्वाश.

॥३॥

III. पञ्जिका-सहिता (With the Pañjikā)

*अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।

शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यं तद्विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥

¹पातु वो निकषग्रावा मतिहेम्नः सरस्वती ।

प्राञ्चेतरपरिच्छेदं वचसैव करोति या ॥

कृन्दः कल्पनिष्कृतानि ²विवृतानीह सूरिभिः ।

³शिक्षा न विवृता यस्मात्तस्मात्ता विवृतोम्यहम् ॥

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामीति । अथेत्ययमानन्तर्ये । वेदाध्ययनानन्तरमङ्ग-
पाठः । किं कारणम् ? 'षडङ्गो 'वेदोऽध्येतव्यः' इति स्मरणात् । तत्र 'च शिक्षा
प्रथमा, अथशब्दानुषङ्गात् । सा ⁴च वक्तव्या इत्यथशब्दस्य ⁵अर्थः । एतेनैव ⁶सिद्धे वेद-
स्याङ्गानन्तर्ये व्याकरणादिष्वथशब्दोऽत एव ⁷नाधीयते । केषुचित् कल्पेषु अधीयते
इति चेत् 'अथातोऽधिकारः,' 'अथैतस्य समाम्नायस्य' इत्येवमादिषु नैष दोषः ।
नियमार्थः सः, ⁸शिक्षानन्तरं कल्प एवाध्येतव्यो नान्यानीति¹¹ । मङ्गलार्थो वा ।
आदौ सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि वक्तव्यानि । तत्र ¹²चायमेव सम्बन्धो यदुक्तोऽङ्गाङ्गि-
भावः । ¹³नित्यसम्बन्धीनि अङ्गान्यङ्गिनः । अभिधेयं तु स्वयमेव वक्ष्यति—'वाच
उच्चारणे विधिम्' इति । प्रयोजनं सम्यग्वर्णोच्चारणम् । प्रयोजनमपि श्रूयते एव—

1. Before this A¹B have श्रीगणेशाय नमः ; A¹ also श्री नमो गणपतये, A²H अथ
वेदाङ्गशिक्षाप्रारम्भः श्रीगणेशाय नमः and B पातु नो.

2. B निवृत्ता°.

3. IB शिक्षा त्वविवृतान्ताय आतस्मातां.

4. A² °वेदोऽध्येय.

5. A² omits च.

6. BHL omit च.

7. A¹ omits अर्थः ... वेदस्य.

8. सिद्धे सांगा° for सिद्धे वेदस्याङ्गा°.

9. H. विधीयते.

10. B_x शिक्षाया अनन्तरं.

11. A² omits इति.

12. B omits एव.

13. HLA² °स्वन्थानि अङ्गानि ; B. °स्वन्थिनी अङ्गानि.

*प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातमबुद्धिभिः ।

पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥

“एकाऽपि वर्णः सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः, स्वर्गे लोके^१ कामधुग् भवति” इति । शिक्ष्यतेऽनया वर्णोच्चारणमिति शिक्षा, तां प्रकर्षेण वक्ष्यामि कथयिष्यामि । पा णि नी यं म तं य थे ति । पाणिनीयमिति ‘वृद्धाच्छः’ (पा. ४.२.११४) इति छप्रत्ययः । तस्येदमित्यर्थनिर्देशः । म त मि ति । ^२“मन ज्ञाने” पाणिनीयं मतं ज्ञानं यथा तथा प्रवक्ष्यामि तैरेव प्रत्याहारेस्तथैव ‘परिभाषया ‘अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्वीषत्’ इत्यादि ‘अणुद्विषवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः’ (पा. १.१.६८) इति ‘कण्ठग्रावहाविच्युयशाः’ इति च । ^३“तथाऽन्यदप्यनुक्तमत्र प्रयोजनं यत्तद् व्याकरणादेव ग्रहीतव्यं ‘मोऽनुस्वारः’ (पा. ८.३.२३) इति । ननु व्याकरणे शब्दचिन्ता, अत्रापि ‘सेति । ततश्च व्याकरणेनैव सिद्धत्वादित्दमनारभ्यम् ? सत्यम् ; उभयोः शब्दचिन्ता, किन्तु व्याकरणे एतच्चिन्त्यते—गोशब्दः सास्त्रादिमित्यर्थं साधुः, इह तु गोशब्दो जिह्वामूलेनोच्चारयितव्य इति भेदः । शा स्त्रा नु पू र्णं त द्वि द्या दि ति । शास्त्रमिति शास्त्रेः करणे द्वन्प्रत्ययः । आनुपूर्व्यमिति गुरुपूर्वक्रमः । तदिति पाणिनिमतपरामर्शः । ^४“तत् पाणिनिमतमेवास्यापि शिक्षाख्यशास्त्रस्याप्यानुपूर्व्यं विद्याद् वंशपरम्परां जानीयात् । पाणिनि-मतस्य यदानुपूर्व्यं यो गुरुपूर्वक्रमः स एवास्येत्यर्थः । तथा च वक्ष्यति—‘शङ्करः शाङ्करीं प्रादात्’^५ इत्यादि । यथोक्तं लो क वे द यो रि ति । ^६“समानार्थ-मित्यर्थः । तथा च ^७भाष्यकारः—“य एव लौकिकाः शब्दास्त एव वैदिकास्त एव ^८तेषामर्थाः” इति ॥१॥

नन्वकारादयो वर्णा स्वस्थानेनैवोच्चार्यन्ते ^९परस्थाननिराकाङ्क्षत्वात्, ^{१०}किमर्थः शास्त्रारम्भ इत्याशङ्क्याह—

^{११}प्र सि द्ध मि ति । अबुद्धिभिर्बुद्धिहीनैः प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातं ^{१२}सन्तं

1. HILB एको वर्णः.

2. A¹ adds च.

3. H मत ज्ञाने.

4. A¹A² °स्तथैव परिभाषया.

5. B adds च.

6. A¹ °न्यदप्यनुक्तमत्र ।

7. A¹ सेवे A² omits इति ।

8. HLA² omit तत् पाणिनि° ... जानीयात्.

9. B इति for इत्यादि.

10. A² समानमित्यर्थः.

11. A² भाष्यकाराः.

12. HL तेष्वर्था इति.

13. A¹ परस्य निराकाङ्क्षत्वात्.

14. HLA¹ किमर्थ(?) .

15. BA¹ quote the entire sloka 2.

16. A¹A² सन्तं for सन्तं.

*त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः सम्भवतो मताः ।

प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयंभुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

पुनः पश्चाद् व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि स्फुटीकरिष्यामि । किम् ? वाच उच्चारणे विधिम्, वाचो
 'गिरस्तः' उच्चारणे 'उद्गिरणे' विधिं विधानम् । ननु विधिरत्यन्तमप्राप्तौ इति स्मर्यते,
 न चात्रात्यन्तमप्राप्तिः ; उक्तं च अधस्तात्—अकारादयो वर्णाः स्वस्थानेनैवोच्चार्यन्ते
 इति । उच्यते, यद्यपि स्वस्थानस्थिता उच्चार्यन्ते तथाप्यप्राप्तोऽशः^१ कथनीयोऽतोऽनु-
 'प्रदानादिः', एतदर्थो^२ विधिशब्दः ॥२॥

वागुच्चारणं^३ वर्णैः क्रियते, कतिसंख्यास्ते इत्यत आह—

त्रि ष ष्टि च तुः ष ष्टि र्वे ति । सम्भवत इति सम्भूतेः सकाशान्मताः जाताः ।
 वर्णो वृणोतेः । अत्र 'यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः' इत्युक्तम् । तत्र किं लोके संस्कृत-
 विषया एव वर्णा उत सर्वभाषाविषया इत्याह—प्राकृते संस्कृते चापीति । अपि-
 शब्दादपभ्रंशादिष्वपि ये वर्णाः सम्भूतेर्जाताः सन्तः तेऽपि । स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयं-
 भुवे ति । ब्रह्मणा 'स्वयमेवादरेण प्रकर्षेणोच्चारिताः ॥३॥

कथं ते^४ त्रिषष्टिः कथं वा^५ चतुःषष्टिरित्याशङ्क्याह—

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्चेति । स्वरा इति 'स्वृ शब्दोपतापयोः' स्वर्यते
 शब्दरतेऽनेन व्यञ्जनमिति करणेऽच्प्रत्ययः । कथं ते^{१०} एकविंशतिः ? ^{११}ततश्चतुरो
 स्वरान् मया यथाप्रज्ञं यथास्मृतिं विवृणोमि—अ इ उ ऋ एते चत्वारो ऋस्वदीर्घभुत-
 भेदेन हादश । लकारस्य दीर्घादयो न सन्तीति स्मरणात् ऋस्व एवोपदिश्यते, ^{१२}अत एते
 त्रयोदश । ए ऐ ओ औ सम्यच्चराणि, सम्यच्चराणामपि ऋस्वा न सन्तीति स्मरणात्

1. A¹A² गिरस्तुच्चारणे. 2. B om. उद्गिरणे. 3. A¹ adds कथं.
4. H *प्रदानादिति. 5. A¹ पदार्थो शब्दो and A² पदार्थो विधिशब्दः for एतदर्थो विधिशब्दः.
6. LA¹A² add च before this. 7. C 'दरेण for °दरेण.
8. L omits ते. 9. B चतुःषष्टिः स्वरित्या^०. 10. B omits ते.
11. A¹A² omit this word ; before this I ततः स्वरात्रया. 12. A¹ त for अतः.

दीर्घप्लुता एव गृह्यन्ते ¹तत एतेऽष्टौ पूर्वस्त्रयोदशभिः सहैकविंशतिः । स्पर्शा ना पञ्च-
विंशतिः । कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः । जिह्वामूलतालुमूर्धदन्तोष्ठादिभिः ²परस्परं
स्पर्शैरभिनिष्पन्ना ³आविर्भवन्तीति स्पर्शाः । ⁴पूर्वयैकविंशत्या सह षट्चत्वारिंशत् ।
या द य ख स्मृ ता ह्य ष्टा वि ति । यकारादयश्च अष्टौ—य र ल व श ष स ह
इति । ⁵अत्र आद्याश्चत्वारोऽन्तःस्थसंज्ञाः, उपरितना जप्ताणः । ⁶पूर्वया षट्चत्वारिंशता
सह चतुःपञ्चाशत् । च त्वा र ख य माः स्मृ ता इति । ⁷यच्छतीति यमः, स्वय-
मेवोपरमते ⁸। के ते यमाः ? लोके कुं खं गुं घं इति । ⁹“अनन्त्यान्त्यसंयोगे
मध्ये यमः पूर्वगुणः” इत्यौदन्नजिः । ¹⁰तथा च—

¹¹ऋखादिभेदैश्चत्वारः प्रथमा द्वादश स्मृताः ।

लृकारो ऋख एवैचोऽष्टौ खरा एकविंशतिः ॥

पञ्चविंशतिरष्टाब्धिः स्पर्शाः स्युर्यादयो यमाः ।

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क (पो) प्लुतलृकारकः ॥

त्रिषष्टिरेवं वर्णाः स्युर्ऋखदीर्घादिभेदतः । ¹²

अनुस्वारद्वयाद्वर्णाश्चतुःषष्टिरिति रीताः ॥

तथा च नारदः—

अनन्त्यश्च ¹³भवेत् पूर्वो अन्तिमः परतो यदि ।

तत्र मध्ये यमस्तिष्ठेत् सवर्णः पूर्ववर्णयोः ॥

वर्गान्द्यान् शषसैः सार्द्धमन्तःस्थैर्वाऽपि संयुतान् ।

दृष्ट्वा ¹⁴यमा निवर्तन्ते आदेशिकमिवाध्वगाः ॥ (ना. शि. २, २, ८-९)

इति ¹⁵नारदौदन्नज्योर्मतेन यमो वर्णागम इति ¹⁶विधीयते । ¹⁷अस्मात् शास्त्रात्

1. A¹A² त एते.

3. A¹A² °निष्पत्त्य.

6. H. पूर्वैः षट्चत्वारिंशदभिः ; I °चत्वारिंशता.

8. °वोपरमेरन्, A² °वोपरमतः परम लोके ते .

9. A² °अनन्तमयोगे मध्ये यमः.

11. I A²HLB omit this and the two following slokas. 12. A¹ °दिभेदतः.

13. H. भवेत् पूर्वो अन्तिमश्च, B. ° × × त् पूर्वोऽन्तिमश्च, I पूर्वं अन्तिमश्च, L पूर्वांतिमश्च.

A¹A²पूर्वो अन्त्यश्च.

15. IBH °व्रजिभ्यां मतेन, A¹ °व्रजिभ्यां न.

17. B om. अस्मात्.....इति.

2. A¹ omits °दिभिः.

5. MB omits चष.

7. CA¹ यच्छन्तीति यमाः.

10. HBIA³ omit तथा च.

14. A¹ यमादुवर्तन्ते.

16. B omits विधीयते.

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क—पौ चापि पराश्रयौ ।

॥2॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः झुत एव च ॥५॥

‘चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः’ इति वर्णान्तरत्वेनोपदेशः संयोगशास्त्रात् । अथ चतुर-
चराणामुदाहरणमिति प्रकृत्य ‘अग्निरिति गकारौ द्वौ यमो नकार इकारश्चेति ।
अन्ये तु यमं वर्णापत्तिं मन्यन्ते । तथा च शौनकः—“स्पर्शा यमानननुनासिकाः
‘स्नान् परेषु स्पर्शेष्वनुनासिकेषु” (ऋ. प्रा. १.६.८) इति । ‘पूर्वया चतुःपञ्चाशता
सहाष्टपञ्चाशत् ॥४॥

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्चेति । स्वरमनु भवतोऽनुस्वारः, [स्वरम्]
अनु ‘अकारा[द्य]नुगमनेनानुस्वारः । वक्ष्यति च ‘दन्तमूल्यः स्वराननु’ इति ।
विसर्ग इति । विविधं सृज्यते शिष्यते इति विसर्गः । × क—पौ चापि
‘पराश्रयाविति । पराश्रयाविति परौ ककारपकारौ आश्रयस्थानं ययोस्तौ
पराश्रयौ । तथा च वक्ष्यति—“अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः” इति ।

अपरः पाठः—× क—पावपि^१ परौ स्मृतौ । अनुस्वारविसर्गयोः परावित्थयः ।
‘अपरोऽपि पाठः—× क—पौ वापि कपाश्रयौ । ककारपकारौ आश्रयः स्थानं ययोस्तौ
कपाश्रयौ । चशब्दादनुस्वारविसर्जनीयावपि पराश्रयौ । दुःस्पृष्टश्चेतीति
दुःस्पृष्ट ईषत्स्पृष्टो वर्णधर्मो न वर्णान्तरम् । वक्ष्यति च—‘अचोऽस्पृष्टा
यणस्वीषत्’ इति । तथा चौदव्रजिः—^२‘तत्र स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम्,’ ‘दुःस्पृष्टमन्तः-
स्थानाम्’ इति । यणभक्तिश्च ‘लृकारो विद्यते । अतो लृकारो दुःस्पृष्टधर्मा
चशब्दात् ऋकारः । इतिशब्दः पादपूरणार्थः । लृकार इति । लृवर्णात्

1. B₂ अग्निरिति गकारौ द्वौ, A¹ I अग्निरिति यमौ गकारनकाराविति, A² अग्निभ(?)रिति न
यम नकार ककाराविति, C अग्निरिति यमौ गकारौ द्वौ नकार.

2. B. स्नानुपरिषु, H स्त्रःपरिषु, L स्नापरिषु, A¹ स्नात् परिषु I स्वर्ध्यात्.

3. BA² पूर्व चतुःपञ्चाशत् सहा^० IH पूर्वचतुःपञ्चाशदभिः सह₂

4. A¹A²B. अकारानुग^०, IHL. अकाराग^०, A³ अकारानुगमनात्^०

5. B पराश्रितौ.

6. B^० पाविति.

7. B omits अपरोऽपि पाठः₂

8. IB omit तत्र, IHLA² करणं for प्रयतनं A adds करणं after प्रयतनं.

9. BHL यकारो भिद्यते, IL have in the margin यण भक्तिश्च लृकारो विद्यते यणकरणक
इत्यर्थः, B यण भक्तिश्च लृकारो विद्यते यणकरणक इत्यर्थः.

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थार्यान्मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥

कारप्रत्ययः । भू त ए वे ति । लकारस्य दीर्घादयो न सन्तीत्यधस्तात् पर-
मतमुपन्यस्तम्, स्वमतं चाह—लकारः भूत एव च इति त्रिसात्रः चशब्दाद् ऋस्वश्च ।
ननु वर्णानां प्रयत्नमुपरिष्ठाद्व्यत्येव, किमर्थमप्रस्तुतः प्रयत्नः कथ्यते ? उच्यते, भूत-
विधानार्थं तावत् लकार उच्चारयितव्यः उच्चारिते च लकारे लाघवार्थमप्रस्तुतोऽपि^१
प्रयत्न उच्चारितः दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति । अनुस्वारादयः भूतान्ताः पञ्च । ^२पूर्वयाऽष्टपञ्चा-
शता सह त्रिषष्टिः । चतुःषष्टिः कथम् ? ^३अनुस्वारौ विसर्गश्चेति पाठान्तरात् ।
कथं पुनरनुस्वारद्वयम् ? ऋस्वदीर्घभेदेनेति ब्रूमः । तथा चौद्व्रजिः—“अनुस्वारावं
आं इत्यनुस्वारौ ‘ऋस्वादीर्घौ दीर्घाङ्गस्वो वर्णौ’ इति । अत एव चतुःषष्टिः ॥५॥

अथ वर्णसंख्यापरिज्ञानोत्तरकालं चिन्त्यते क एषामुच्चारयिता, कथं
चोच्चारयति, केन क्रमेण चेत्याह—

आत्मे ति । आत्मा शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्तः । कथं पुनरेतदवगम्यते
यथा शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा ? उच्यते—‘द्रष्टृत्वात्, द्रष्टा हि दृष्ट्याद्
व्यतिरिक्तो भवति, प्रयोजकत्वात् । ‘बुद्ध्यादीनि कर्तृप्रयोज्यानि, करणत्वात्,
कुठारवत्’ इति न्यायात्, श्रुतेश्च । न्यायस्तावत्, ‘अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामः’
इति स्वर्गादिफलसाधनानि कर्माणि श्रूयन्ते । स्वर्गश्च ‘नवशरीरोपभोग्यः, तद्व्यतिरिक्त
आत्मा शरीरादेः । श्रुतेश्च, “तस्य ह्येतस्य हृदयस्याग्रं प्रद्योतते तेन प्रद्योतेनैष आत्मा
निष्क्रामति चक्षुषो वा मूर्ध्नी वाऽन्येभ्यो वा शरीरदेशेभ्यः” (बृह. आ. ४.४.२)
इति । शरीरापक्रमणाच्च शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा । छान्दोग्यश्रुतेश्च “एवमेवैष
संप्रसादोऽस्माच्छरीरात्समुत्थाय परं ^४ज्योतिरूपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते”
(ऋ. १२. ३) इति । क एषामुच्चारयितेति पृष्टे तस्योत्तरं दत्तम्—आत्मेति ।
कथमुच्चारयति केन क्रमेणेति प्रश्नद्वयस्योत्तरं दीयते—स आत्मा बुद्ध्या सहार्थान्

1. A¹ omits °ऽपि.

2. IHLA¹A² पूर्वरेष्टपञ्चाशतिः, B पूर्व-इष्टा.

3. B अनुस्वारौ विसर्गः.

4. BL ऋस्वादीर्घौ दीर्घाङ्गस्वो, LA¹A² ऋस्वदीर्घौ

(चो) दीर्घाङ्गस्वो (स्वो), I ऋस्वदीर्घौ दीर्घाङ्गस्व इति.

5. A¹I omits द्रष्टृत्वात् ... इति न्यायात्, A² omits द्रष्टृत्वात् ... कुठारवत्, HL put
इति before द्रष्टृत्वात्.

6. A¹A² वायुशरीरोप°, B नवशरीरोपभोग्यः.

7. HL शरीरादिः.

8. B ज्योतीरूप°.

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन्मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।

॥४॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं कन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।

॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

वाङ्मान् समर्थं सम्यग् अवगम्य अर्थप्रत्यायनाय यदि शब्दा उच्चार्यन्ते तदा मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया 'वक्तुमिच्छा' विवक्षा तया । तच्च मनो नियुङ्क्ते आत्मा । मनः का याग्नि माहन्तीति । तच्च मनो नियुक्तं सत् कायाग्निमाहन्ति कायाग्निं शरीराग्निम् आभिमुख्येन हन्ति । स प्रेरयति मारुतमिति । सोऽग्निरभिहतः सन् मारुतं वायुं प्रेरयति ॥६॥

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन्मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरमिति । मारुतो वायुरसि 'चरन्मन्द्रं' स्वरम् उत्पादयति । मन्द्रमिति मन्दे रक्प्रत्ययः । प्रातःसवनयोगमिति । प्रातःसवनेन सह योगोऽस्येति प्रातःसवनयोगस्तम्, 'तथा च ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे 'अथ मन्द्रं तपति तस्मात् मन्द्रया वाचा प्रातःसवने शंसित्' (१४.६) इति । 'गायत्रं गायतेः' स्तुतिकर्मणः ; आच्छादयति कन्दः ॥७॥

कण्ठ इति । मारुत इति 'अनुवर्तते, सवनं कन्दः स्वरं चरन्निति च । वर्णान् जनयतीति यावत् । कण्ठे चरन् वायुर्मध्यमं स्वरं जनयति । कण्ठे इति 'कण्ठः' (उ. सू. १०४) इति ठप्रत्ययः । मध्यं दिनं युनक्त्येति 'माध्यन्दिनं सवनभाजं त्रिष्टुप्कन्दोऽनुगामिनम् । तारमिति । तार्तीयसवनमिति तृतीयसवनभाजं तारं स्वरं शीर्षण्यमिति मूर्धनि चरन् वायुं जनयत्युत्पादयति जागतं कन्दोऽनुगामिनम् । जागतं कन्दोऽनुगच्छतीति जागतानुगः । शीर्षण्यमिति 'शीर्षं कन्दसि' (पा. ६.१.६०) इति शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षभावः । तत्र भवं शीर्षण्यम् ॥८॥

1. L omits वक्तुमिच्छा विवक्षा तया तच्च, BH वक्तुमिच्छया only.

2. A¹ षट् for चरन्. 3. BHLIA² तथा च सुयज्ञः मन्द्रया वाचा प्रातःसवनमिति.

4. B has before this गायत्रकन्दोऽस्याश्रयः

5. BHL omits स्तुतिकर्मणः and has आच्छादनाच्छन्दः for आच्छादयति कन्दः.

6. BHLCA² omit °अनु.

7. A²L माध्यन्दिनं सवनभाजं.

सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्नि अभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।

॥६॥ वर्णाञ्जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥६॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।

॥७॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥

सो दी र्ण इति । स वायुरुदीर्णं ऊर्ध्वगतो मूर्ध्नि यावदुपरितनां गतिम्
अलभमानः शिरः-कपालेनावष्टब्धत्वात् पुनः प्रत्यावृत्त्य 'वक्त्रमेवापद्य वर्णाञ्जनयते
उत्पादयति । पुनर्मारुतग्रहणं विस्पष्टार्थम् । तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृत इति ।
तेषां वर्णानां जन्यमानानां विभागो विवेकः पञ्चधा पञ्चप्रकारः । 'संख्याया
विधार्थे धा' (पा. ५.३.४२) इति धा । 'स्मृतोऽनुगतः ॥८॥

केहेतुभिस्तेषां वर्णानां 'पञ्चधा विवेक इत्याह—

स्वरतः इति । स्वस्थाने हेतून् व्याख्यास्यामः । 'वर्णानां ज्ञातार एवमाहुः—
पञ्चधा विवेको वर्णानाम् इति । 'स्वरतः उदात्तादिभेदेन । कालो ऋसादिः ।
स्थानं कण्ठादि । प्रयत्नो द्विधा (!) । अनुप्रदानं स्वस्थानादिकं घोषादि । अनु
प्रकर्षेण दीयते इत्यनुप्रदानम् । 'ह्री नाद[श्वासाव]नुप्रदानौ' इत्यौदव्रजिः ।
पञ्चधा विवेकं वर्णानां निपुणमुच्यमानं हे श्रोतारः, निबोधत शृणुत ॥

अत्र किञ्चिदुच्यते बालव्युत्पत्त्यर्थम् । ननु सर्वमेवैतदनुपपन्नम् । कथम् ?
आत्मा बुद्ध्या सह अर्थान् समर्थं मनो युङ्क्त इति व्याख्यातम् । आत्मनश्च
नियोजकभावो नोपपद्यते अकर्तृरूपत्वात् तस्य । तथा च श्रुतिः—'असङ्गो
ह्ययं पुरुषः' (बृह. आ. ४.३.१५) इति, 'अस्थूलमनण्वङ्गस्वमदीर्घम्' (बृह. आ.
३.८.८) इत्यादिका च । भवता चैवमात्मस्वरूपं व्याख्यातम् । आत्मनश्च
नियोजकभावे शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्त इति शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा मनो

1. HL वक्त्रमेवापद्य ; B. °पद्य जनयति.

2. A¹ स्मृतोऽनुगतः.

3. A¹ omits पञ्चधा... इत्याह.

4. BI इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत before this. H. puts. निबोधत before this.

5. BHL omit स्वरत उदात्तादि° इत्यौदव्रजिः.

6. IA¹C omit °दीर्घ°.

युङ्क्ते इत्यनुपपन्नम् । उच्यते, अयमात्मा समर्थ्यार्थान्नो युङ्क्ते इत्येतत् क्षेत्रज्ञाभि-
प्रायम् । क्षेत्रज्ञस्यैतदेव स्वरूपं यन्नियोजकत्वम् । तथा च मनुः[संहितायां]—

“योऽस्यात्मनः कारयिता तं क्षेत्रज्ञं प्रचक्षते ।
यः करोति तु कर्माणि स भूतात्मोच्यते बुधैः ॥
जीवसंज्ञोऽन्तरात्माऽन्यः सहजः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
येन वेदयते सर्वं सुखं दुःखं च जन्मसु ॥
तावुभौ भूतसंपृक्तौ महान् क्षेत्रज्ञ एव च ।
उच्चावचेषु भूतेषु स्थितं तं व्याप्य तिष्ठतः” ॥ (१२, १२-१४) इति ।

तं व्याप्येति परमात्मानमाहुः । तथा च व्यासः [श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां]—

“हाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥
उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।
यो लोकात्रयमाविश्य विभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः” ॥ (१५, १६-१७)

ननु यस्यात्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थ्यार्थान् इत्युदाहृतो यो नित्यः क्षेत्रज्ञ एवात्रात्माऽभि-
प्रेतो भवेत् ततः क्षेत्रज्ञे एव आत्मशब्दस्य चरितार्थत्वात् शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यति-
रिक्तत्वं कतरस्माच्छब्दात् त्वया वर्णितं, किमथ च ? उच्यते, आत्मा बुद्धेत्यत्र
द्वावप्यात्मानौ तौ क्षेत्रज्ञपरमात्माभिधेयरूपावभिप्रेतौ तन्त्रेणोच्चारितौ ।
तन्त्रेणोच्चारणं सूत्राणामलङ्कारः । एवं चेत् किमर्थं परमात्मनो वर्णनिमित्तत्वम्
उक्तम् ? तत्रोच्यते, अपवर्गसाधनोपकारत्वाच्छ्रुत्याः । अपवर्गस्य चायमेवोपायः
शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्तस्य परमात्मनो बोधः । अनवबोधस्य तु बुद्ध्यादिभिरैकं
भवति । किं तदपवर्गसाधनं यस्य शिञ्जोपकारे वर्तते ? उच्यते, वेदा यज्ञाश्च ।
तथा च श्रुतिः—“तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन विविदिषन्ति ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा अह्वया
यज्ञेनानाशकेन च” (बृह. आ. ४.४.२२) इति । वेदानुवचनं यज्ञगतमन्त्राङ्गत्वात्
सम्यग्वर्णोच्चारणेन यस्मात्प्रोक्तमाप्नोति । वक्ष्यति च—“अतुलं च सुखं समश्रुते”
इति । अतुलं सुखं मोक्ष एव भवति ॥१०॥

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥८॥ ऋस्रो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥९॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१२॥

अलमतिप्रसङ्गेन । प्रकृतमनुसरामः—

उ दा त्त श्चा नु दा त्त श्चे ति । स्वरतः कालत इत्येतौ द्वौ हेतू श्लोके विवृणोति-
स्वर उदात्तादिः । कालो मात्राप्रभृतित्रिमात्रपर्यन्तः । उदात्त इत्युपरिष्ठात्
परिगृहीतः, अनुदात्तस्तद्विपरीतः, अधस्ताद् गृहीत इत्यर्थः । स्वरित इति
न स्वरान्तरम् । स्वरतीति स्वरितः आक्षेपनिषाद्यः य उदात्तानुदात्तविकारः ।
तथा च नारदः—

“उच्चादुच्चतरं नास्ति नीचानीचतरं तथा ।

त्रैस्वर्ये स्वारसंज्ञायां किंस्थानः^१ स्वार उच्यते ॥

उच्चनीचस्थयोर्मध्ये साधारण इति श्रुतिः ।

तं स्वारं स्वारसंज्ञायां प्रतिजानन्ति शैचिकाः” ॥ (ना. शि. १.८.६-७)

स्व रा स्त्र य इति । त्रय एव ऋग्यजुर्विषयाः^२; पञ्च सप्त च सामसु । ऋस्व
एकमात्रो दीर्घो द्विमात्रः, प्लुतस्त्रिमात्रः । “निमेषकाला मात्रा स्यात्”
इत्यौदव्रजिः, तथा च नारदः—

“निमेषकाला मात्रा स्याद्विद्युत्कालेति चापरे” (ना. शि. २.३.८) इति ।

इतिशब्दः प्रकारार्थः । अनेन प्रकारेण कालतः हेतोः स्वरतश्च विषयभाग-
नियमः । तथा च नारदः—

“स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च ।

व्यञ्जनान्यनुवर्तन्ते” यत्र तिष्ठति स स्वरः ॥” (ना. शि. २.५.२) इति ॥११॥

1. B omits न.

2. A¹C स्वर ।

3. A³ read षट् after पञ्च.

4. B. puts stops after विषयाः and सामसु.

5. A¹C °न्यत वर्तन्ते,

कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१३॥

जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।

॥12॥ एते तु कण्ठतालव्या ओञ्चौ कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥१४॥

अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठास्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥13॥ ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥१५॥

स्थानत इति यदुक्तं तदाह—

कण्ठा व हा वि ति । ¹कण्ठावहौ अकारहकारौ कण्ठौ² कण्ठतो जातौ । इ च उ य शाः तालव्याः ³इकारश्च चवर्गश्च यकारश्चकारौ च एते तालव्याः तालुस्थाने भवाः । उ इत्युकारानुबन्धो वर्गं ज्ञापयति । वर्गादावन्यत्रापि कुचुटुतुपु इत्येवमादिषु लकारः ‘पञ्चवर्णपरिग्रहणार्थः । तथा च पाणिनिः—“अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः” (पा. १.१.६८) इति । औदव्रजिरपि “स्पर्शं वर्गस्य, स्पर्शग्रहणे च ज्ञेयं वर्गस्य ग्रहणं स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः” इति । ओ ष जा वु पू लकारः पवर्गश्च ओष्ठयोर्जातौ । स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा इति । ऋकारः टवर्गश्च रेफकारौ च मूर्धन्या भवेयुः । दन्त्या लृतुलसा इति । लकारस्तवर्गश्च लकारसकारौ च दन्तेषु भवाः⁴ ॥१३॥

जि ह्वा मू ले इति । कवर्गसु जिह्वामूले कथितः । दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधै रिति । वकारो ⁵दन्तोष्ठयोर्भवतीति पण्डितैः स्मर्यते । एते तु कण्ठतालव्या इति । एकार ऐकारश्च कण्ठतालुतो जातौ । ओञ्चौ कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृताविति । ¹⁰ओकारः ओकारश्च कण्ठोष्ठयोर्जातौ ॥१४॥

1. A³ omits. 2. A¹ omits. 3. A¹A⁴ इकारः C लण्ठोः

4. BLA² omit पञ्चवर्णपरिग्रहणार्थः.

5. MSS. स्पर्शवर्गस्य स्पर्शग्रहणे च ज्ञेयं वर्गस्य ग्रहणं...⁶कार इति ।

6. L स्थानेष्वधिकारः, A¹ स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः.

7. B. omit रेफकारौ.....इति । लकारः 8. A¹ भावः.

9. BHIL दद्व्यः (BH दन्तेभ्यः) ओष्ठभ्यां च जातो भवतीति, A³ दन्त्योष्ठोः

10. H ओकारश्च, C ओकारस्यौ°.

अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिका स्थानमुच्यते ।

॥14॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके

अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभाजिनः ॥१६॥

॥15॥ अलावुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः खराननु ।

अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं क्लोः शषसेषु च ॥१७॥

अ ङे मा वा इति । अङ्गेमात्रा तु ¹कण्ठस्थ भवति । कयोः ? ²एकारस्य ओकारस्य च । सर्वर्णग्राहकत्वात् ³एकारश्च ओकारश्च द्वावपि गृह्येते । अतस्तुर्णामपि सव्यचराणामङ्गेमात्रा⁴ कण्ठसंबन्धिनी भवेत् । ‘अध्यर्द्धास्ताल्बोष्ठ-स्थानाः ॥१५॥

अ यो गे ति । अयोगवाहा इत्यनुस्वारादयश्चत्वार उच्यन्ते । अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क ँ षौ च कण्ठगौ । तथा च औदव्रजिः—‘अयोगवाहाः, अः इति विसर्जनोयः, × क इति जिह्वामूलीयः, ँ प इत्युपध्मानीयः’ ‘अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्यः, इत्ययोगवाहाः । न विद्यते योगः संयोगो वर्णान्तरेण⁵ येषां ते अयोगवाहाः । ⁶आश्रयस्थानभाजिन इति । ⁷आश्रयस्य ककारादेः स्थानं भाजितुं शीलं येषां ते आश्रयस्थानभाजिनः । अन्ये तु यमानप्ययोगवाहान्मन्यन्ते । तेषां मतेन अयोगवाहशब्दः प्रत्यस्तमितावयवो रुद्धिशब्दोऽश्वकणैवहेदितव्यः । अनुस्वारस्य स्वरूपमाह—अनुस्वारस्य प्रकृतिः पाणिनिनैव कथिता “मोऽनुस्वारः” (पा. ८.३.२३) इति ॥१६॥

अ ला द्वि ति । अलावुसुखी, ¹⁰तस्या वीणाया इव निर्घोषः शब्दो यस्य सोऽलावुवीणानिर्घोषः । स्थानं दन्तमूलं तत्र भवो ¹¹दन्तमूल्यः । खरान्

1. H. कण्ठास्येकारौकारयोर्भवेत् अङ्गेमात्रा कण्ठस्थ भवति । कयोः,
2. CA¹ एकारस्योकारस्य । A³ एकारस्य ओकारस्य.
3. A² एकार ओकारश्च. B. अ⁰ ओकारश्च. 4. A² कण्ठ A³ omits.
5. H अर्धां तालो, B °धां तालो I अध्यर्धं तु खे खे स्थाने.
6. I A³ अं इत्यनुस्वारोऽनुनासिकः । A³ अनुस्वारः नासिकः.
7. HLB put सह after this. 8. A² °भाजिन.
9. A² omits आश्रयश्च.....भाजिनः.
10. L अलावुयुक्तवीणाया and H अलावु तु वीणाया A¹ यस्याऽसावलावुवीणाया for तस्या वीणाया.
11. A³ L दन्तमूल्यः.

॥16॥ अचोऽसृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमसृष्टाः शरस्तथा ।

शेषा सृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥१८॥

॥17॥ जमोऽनुनासिकानङ्गौ नादिनो हभषः स्मृताः ।

ईषन्नादा यणजशस्तु श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः

अकारादीन् अनु भवतीति शेषः । हकाररेफयोः शषसेषु^१ च सदा भवति । तथा च नारदः—

“आपद्यते मकारो रेफोऽसु प्रत्ययेष्वनुस्वारम् ।

यवलेषु परसवर्णं स्पर्शेषु चोत्तमापत्तिम्” (ना. शि. २.४.४) इति ॥१७॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा । जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च” इति । इमं श्लोकमनुवादरूपं केचित् पठन्ति ॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानतो वर्णानां भेदः कथितोऽधुना प्रयत्नतो भेदः कथ्यते ।

प्रकर्षेण यत्रो वर्णोच्चारणं प्रति असृष्टादिभिः स प्रयत्नः^२ ।

अजिति । अजिति प्रत्याहारग्रहणम् । अ इ उ ऋ लृ ए ओ ऐ औ ‘च्’ एते असृष्टाः । यणः य व र ला एते ईषत्सृष्टाः । ‘श्रिति’ प्रत्याहारग्रहणम्, शषसा एते नेमसृष्टाः ‘अर्द्धसृष्टा’ इत्यर्थः तथेति पादपूरणार्थः । शेषाः सृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता इति । हल् इति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं हकारादारभ्य आ लकारात् । शेष इत्युक्तादन्यः शेषः । यणः शरश्च ईषन्नेमसृष्टास्तदजिताः हलः सृष्टाः, स्वस्थानैः कथिताः । निबोधानुप्रदानत इति । अनुप्रदानमिति स्वस्थानादिकं घोषादि अनु प्रकर्षेण दीयते इति अनुप्रदानम् । “हो नाद-[श्वासाव]नुप्रदानौ” इत्यौदव्रजिः । अनुप्रदानतो हेतोः^३ वर्णानां भेदं शृणु ॥१८॥

जमिति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं जमङ्गणनम् । अनुनासिका इति स्वस्थानैरधिकाः ‘अनुपाठात् नासिकामनुभवन्तीति अनुनासिका जमङ्गणनम्

1. A²A³ omit.

2. A¹ प्रत्ययेऽप्यनु^०.

3. BBL read after this कण्ठाणां च स्वराणां च विहितं करणं स्मृतम् । तेभ्योऽपि (ततोऽपि विहतावेङ्गौ ताभ्यामिचौ तयैव च ; स्पष्टं only in H).

4. HL omit च्.

5. H omits श्रिति.....नेमसृष्टाः.

6. L अर्धं सृष्टा.

7. A¹A² omit up to इत्यौदव्रजिः MSS. हो नादानुप्रदानौ. (I °प्रदानम्).

8. B omits हेतोः.

9. A¹C अनुपाठाः.

॥१८॥ ईषच्छासांश्चरो विद्याद्गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥१८॥

अनुनासिकानिमान् जानीयात् । तथा च पाणिनिः—‘मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः’
(पा. १.१.८) इति । अ झौ इति । अकारो रेफश्च हकारो भ्रषश्च, प्रत्याहारग्रहणं
भ्रष् इति भ्र भ घ ढ ध ष्, एते ज्ञादयो नादिनः स्मर्यन्ते । नाद एषामस्तीति
नादिनः । अपरः पाठः—अ मो ऽनु ना सि का न झौ । अम् इति प्रत्याहार-
ग्रहणम् । अ इ उ ऋ लृ ए ओ ऐ औ ह य व र ल ज म ङ ण न म् एते अनु-
नासिकाः । न झौ न तु रेफहकारौ अभावपि सन्तौ । ना दि नो ह भ्र षः
स्मृताः । हकारो भ्रषश्च नादिनः भ्रष् भ्र भ घ ढ ध ष् । अस्यार्थः,^१ पाठइयात्
अमां हकाररेफवर्जितानां विकल्पेनानुनासिकत्वम्, जमां तु नित्यम् । तथा
च शौनकः—“सचादयो या विहिता विवृत्तयः प्लुतोपधान्ता अनुनासिकोपधाः”
(ऋ, प्रा. २.३२) इति । तथा “उकारश्चेति करणे युक्तो रक्तः पृक्तो
द्राघितः शाकलेन” (ऋ, प्रा. १.२८) इति । अकाररेफयोः प्रथमे पाठे नादित्वम्,
द्वितीये पाठे हकाररेफयोर्नासिकत्वप्रतिषेधः । ई ष द्वा दा य ण् ज श स्त्रि ति ।
यणः कथिताः । जशस्तु जकाराद्याः शकारेण प्रत्याहारः ज ब ग ङ ड द श्
एते यण् जशश्च ईषन्मनाक् नादाः । श्वा सि न सु ख फा द य इति ।
खफकृठथाः एते श्वासिनः श्वास एषामस्तीति श्वासिनः । “श्वासीऽघोषाणां
[द्वि]तीयप्रथमानाम्, [नादो] घोषाणां चतुर्थ-[तृतीया]नाम्, युग्मा सोष्माणः”,
इति चौदव्रजिः ॥१८॥

ई ष च्छा सां च रो वि द्या दिति । चर् इति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं च ट त
क प श ष स र् इत्येतन्नामकान् ईषच्छासान् जानीयात् । गो र्धामै त त्र-
च क्ष त इति । गोर्वाचः धाम स्थानम् एतच्छास्त्रमाचक्षते वर्णविदः शास्त्रानु-
पूर्व्यमिति य उक्ताः ॥२०॥

1. A² अस्वार्थे.

2. HB omit कार after ह

3. IHB श्वासी घोषाणां तृतीयात् । प्रथमानाम् (°नस्तुभावघोष° A²) घोषश्चतुर्थानाम् ।
युग्माः ; IH. °चतुर्थानाद्युग्मा सोष्माण इति.

4. A¹C ऐतन्नाम°.

*मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा

मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति

यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥२०॥

*शङ्करः शाङ्करो प्रादाद्वाचीपुत्राय धीमते ।

वाङ्मयेभ्यः समाहृत्य देवीं वाचमिति स्थितिः ॥२१॥

*येनाक्षरसमान्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।

कृतस्त्वं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥२२॥

¹अथ मन्त्र-व्यत्यासलक्षणमाह—

मन्त्रः मननान्मन्त्रः स्वरतः उदात्तादिभेदतः वर्णतः त्रिषष्टिरित्यादिभेदतः मिथ्याप्रयुक्तः यः स्वरतो वर्णस्तमन्त्रात्वेव प्रयुक्तः न तमर्थमाह तस्यार्थं न वेद । स ईदृशो मन्त्रो वाग्रूपो वज्रसमो यजमानं हिनस्ति । तत्र दृष्टान्तमाह—यथा स्वरतोऽपराधाद् इन्द्र एव² शत्रुहन्ताऽभूदिति ॥२०॥

इदानीं गुरुपूर्वक्रममाह—

शङ्कर इति । शङ्करः शं सुखं करोतीति शंकरः सुखकरः शांकारीं सुखकारीं विद्यां दाचीपुत्राय ऋषये दाचीनाम्नी ऋषिकन्या तत्पुत्राय धीमते बुद्धिमते प्रादाहत्तवान् ॥२१॥

सम्प्रति पाणिनिस्तुतिपरं श्लोकमाह—

ये नेति । नन्वप्रकृतं स्तुतिपूर्वकं पाणिनेर्नमस्कारकरणे किमर्थम् ? उच्यते, अचोऽस्मृष्टा यणस्वीषदिति प्रत्याहारैः शिञ्चा ग्रथिता प्रत्याहाराश्च पाणिनिना शंकरादधिगम्य कृतस्त्वं समग्रं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं शिथोपकाराय स्वप्रत्याहारा लोके प्रवर्तिताः तदर्था स्तुतिः । अक्षरसमान्नायमिति प्रत्याहारानाहुः, ऋज्वन्त्यत् ॥२२॥

1. IHLB omit अथ मन्त्रव्यत्यास.....शत्रुहन्ताऽभूदिति ; A¹ omits अथ मन्त्रव्यत्यास, etc. but puts it after बुद्धिमते प्रादात्.

2. A¹ omits एव.

3. HL omit शं सुखं...शङ्करः.

*विनयनमुखनिःसृतामिमां

य इह पठेत् प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति धनधान्यपशुकीर्ति-

मानतुलं सुखमश्नुतेऽमुत्र ॥२३॥

^१भगवतः शिक्षायाश्च साक्षात् स्तुतिपरं श्लोकमाह—

विनयनेति । वैतालीयं कन्दोऽस्य, अन्येषामनुष्टुप् कन्दोऽस्ति । ^२विनयनः शिवस्तस्य सुखान्निःसृता यथा गुहायाः सिंहो निष्क्रामति तथा निःसृता एतावता विनयनेनापि न कृतेत्यर्थः । तां यो द्विजः पठेदधीयोत स [इह] धनादिभिर्युज्यते सुखमतुलं ^३परमानन्दं च मोक्षम् उक्तप्रकारेण अश्नुते प्राप्नोति ^४अमुत्रासुप्तिन् लोके । [आदौ] धनधान्यपशुकीर्तिभाग् भवत्यन्ते मुक्तिभाक् । अन्यदवान्तरफलानि स्वर्गादीनि परिमितकालत्वात् तोलयितुं ^५शक्यन्ते, मोक्षाख्यं तु अपरिमित-कालावच्छिन्नं सुखरूपमित्यर्थः ॥२३॥

^६इति वेदाङ्गशिक्षा-पञ्जिका समाप्ता ।

1. BH omit भगवतः शिक्षायाश्च.
2. B विनयनमुखनिःसृता and H विनयनमुखान्निःसृता for विनयनः...निःसृता.
3. A¹C परमानन्द-लक्षण°.
4. BMA. अन्यत्रा°; IHL omit अन्यत्रासुप्तिन्...फलानि.
5. A¹ शक्यानि । मोक्षस्तु परिमितकालावच्छिन्नपरमानन्दसुखरूपः सोऽध्ययनाद्यधीक्षात् सुलभ एवेति.
6. MBHL इति पाणिनीय-शिक्षा-व्याख्या समाप्ता । (B याह' पुस्तकं दृष्टा; तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि 'शुद्धमशुद्ध' वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥ श्लोकसंख्या १८८ ॥ समाप्तः) संवत् १८६५ दिवसे लिखितां L संवत् १८४२ पिंगलाब्दे जेष्ठे द्वितीयाद्यां श्रीकाश्यां दुग्धविनायक-सन्निधौ ब्रह्मोपनाया गोविन्देन लिखितं । श्रीविश्वेश्वरायणमस्तु ॥ श्रीः । A¹ after समाप्ता, पञ्जिका पदभक्षिकेति विश्वप्रकाशे ॥ इदं पुस्तकं खनगणोपनाया जीवरामभट्टात्मजव्यंकटेशेन लिखितं स्वार्थं परार्थं च ॥ भं ॥ लिखकपाठकयोर्भूयात् । साम्बसदाशिवार्यमस्तु ॥ संवत् १८२८ ज्येष्ठ शु १२ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ I इति शिक्षापञ्जिका समाप्ता &c. A² इति शिक्षायाः पञ्जिका समाप्ता । संवत् १८०० वर्षे आसुनी सुदी २ वार वीरैकौ लिखा ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥

IV. शिक्षाप्रकाश-सहिता (With the Śikṣā-prakāśa)

* अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।

शास्त्रानुपूर्वं तद्विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥

ज्योतिर्व्याकरणं कृन्दः कल्पशिक्षानिरुक्तयः ।

नेत्रास्य-पद्मेनः^१-कर्णा यस्य तं सततं नुमः ॥

व्याख्याय पिङ्गलाचार्यसूत्राण्यादौ यथायथम् ।

शिक्षां तदोयां व्याख्यास्ये पाणिनोयानुसारिणोम् ॥

ज्येष्ठभ्रातृभिर्विहिते व्याकरणेऽनुजस्तत्र भगवान् पिङ्गलाचार्यस्तन्मतमनुभाव्य^२
शिक्षां वक्तुं प्रतिजानीते—

अथ शिक्षां प्रतिजानीते । वेदिकधर्मानुष्ठानात् पुरुषो निःश्रेयसार्थफलवान्
इत्येष वैदिकः सिद्धान्तः । अतिगूढार्थस्य वेदसामानानुष्ठानात् शक्यो
वेदमार्गः । अतः साक्षात्कृतधर्मभिर्वेदार्थेभ्यो निष्कृत्यार्थायि सुखबोधाय विद्या-
स्थानानि प्रवर्तितानि । तानि शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं कृन्दो ज्योतिषं
धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं न्यायविस्तरो मौमांसादीनि । तथा च याज्ञवल्करः
“पुराणन्यायमीमांसा-धर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य
च चतुर्दश” इति । तथा हि—शिक्षा स्वरवर्णोच्चारकं शास्त्रम् । कल्पो
वेदविहितकर्मणाम् आनुपूर्व्येण कल्पनाशास्त्रम् । व्याकरणं शब्दबोधकम्
अन्तेच्छत्वकारकं शास्त्रम् । निरुक्तं पदविभाग-मन्त्रार्थ-देवता-निरूपणार्थं
शास्त्रम् । कृन्दो गायत्र्यादिच्छन्दसां ज्ञानशास्त्रम् । [ज्योतिषं कालपरिज्ञानार्थं
शास्त्रम् । धर्मशास्त्रम् आचाराद्युपदेशकं शास्त्रम् ।] पुराणं स्थित्युत्पत्ति-
प्रलयादिस्मृचकं शास्त्रम् । न्यायविस्तरः प्रमाणैरर्थपरोक्षाशास्त्रम् । मौमांसा वेद-
वाक्यार्थविचारशास्त्रम् इति । तावच्छिक्षायां यथोदितस्वरवर्णोच्चारणम् ।

* प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातमबुद्धिभिः ।

पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥

अज्ञाने प्रत्यवायस्मरणात् । यतः 'मन्त्रो ह्येनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्या-
प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्र-
शत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात्' इति । अत्यावश्यकज्ञातव्यत्वे बृहद्देवतायां श्रौतकः
“स्वरो वर्णोऽक्षरं मात्रा विनियोगार्थमेव^१ च । मन्त्रं जिज्ञासमानेन वेदितव्यं
पदे पदे” इति । अङ्गिनो नित्यत्वम् उत्सर्गतः सिद्धम् । अन्यादौ मङ्गलाप्रयोगादथ-
शब्दो मङ्गलार्थः^२ आनन्तर्यार्थो वा । व्याकरणाध्ययनानन्तरं चतुर्भिर्वाचःपदैः
परा-पश्यन्ती-मध्यमा-वेखरी-संज्ञैरात्मनो वर्णोत्पत्तिज्ञापकं कियत्तदनुवादरूपं
^३ शिक्षाध्ययनम् । शिक्ष्यतेऽनया बालेभ्यो ऋक्सौधुतोदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितोरः-
कण्ठशिरोजिह्वामूलदन्तनासौष्ठस्थानानि यथा तां यथा पाणिनेरिदं “वृद्धि-
र्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्” इति (पा. १.१.७३) वृद्धसंज्ञाया “वृद्धाच्छः” (पा. ४.२.११४)
तस्य “आयनेये” (पा. ७.१.२) त्यादिनेयादेशः, पाणिनीयं मतं तथा प्रोच्चारयिष्यामि ।
न तु तन्मतं शास्त्रादिविरोधि भविष्यतीत्याह यथोक्तमिति । तद् यथा लोक-
वेदयोः शरीरकर्तृकश्रुत्योक्तं शास्त्रानुपूर्वे गुरुपरम्पराप्राप्तं जानीयात् । ‘शङ्करः
शाङ्करीं प्रादाद्’ इति तदुपरिष्ठाद् व्याख्यास्यामः । “य एव^४ लौकिकाः
‘शब्दास्त एव^५ वैदिकास्त एव तेषामर्था” इति, महाभाष्ये^६ । ‘एको वर्णः
सम्यग् ज्ञातः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति’ इति प्रयोजनम् । एतज्-
ज्ञानाभिलाषुका अधिकारिणः । व्याकरणे तु गोशब्दो गातेर्डी सन्तोऽत्र
जिह्वामूलकण्ठोष्ठजातो गोवर्ण इति विभेदाच्छिञ्चारम्भ इति । अत्रानुष्टुप्-
छन्दसि विषमं चेत्यधिकृत्यावान्तरं वक्ताधिकारे पथ्यावक्तं श्लोकवृत्तम् । “पादस्या-
नुष्टुप्वृत्तम्”, (पि. ५.८) । “न प्रथमात् स्त्री” (पि. ५.१०) “वाऽन्यत्” (पि. ५.१२)
“य चतुर्थात्” (पि. ५.१३) “पथ्या युजोज” (पि. ५.१४) । युग्म-पादस्य चतुर्थाद्वर्णा-
ज्जगणोऽवश्यं चेत् इति लक्षणात् । ‘उदात्ते निषादगाभ्यारावि’त्यत्र प्रथमो भुरिक्
अनुष्टुप्पादः । द्वितीयः स्वराट्^७ अनुष्टुप्पादः । उत्तरार्धं पूर्ववत् । “जनाधिके-
नैकेन निवृद्भुरिजौ, हाभ्यां विराट्स्वराजौ” (पि. ३.५.८.६०) इति लक्षणासूत्रात् ॥२॥

१. L °योगार्थमेव.

२. Be. मङ्गलार्थऽज्ञान°.

३. LBe. शिक्षाध्ययनं.

४. Be. यऽएव.

५. L स एव for शब्दा स्त एव.

६. L वैदिकाः त एव.

७. L °भाष्य.

८. Be. खण्डोऽनुष्टुप्पादः for स्वराट् अनुष्टुप्पादः.

* त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः सम्भवतो मताः ।

प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

सुबुद्धीनाम् आदिवर्णोच्चारात् कण्ठादिस्थानज्ञानं भविष्यति । किमर्थोऽयम्
आरम्भ इत्याशङ्क्याह—प्र सि ङ मि ति । पाणिन्यादिभिः प्रसिद्धीकृतम् असांप्रत-
दर्शिभिरविज्ञातम् अव्यक्तं व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि । वाचो वर्णजातस्य उच्चारणे उद्गिरणे
विधिः विधानम् ; अत्यन्ताप्राप्तौ विधिः, स चात्र प्रयत्नानुप्रदानादौ ज्ञेयः ; तम् ॥२॥

[तत्रादौ] तावदुच्चारणादिज्ञानाय वर्णान् संख्याति त्रि ष ष्टि रिति । प्रकृतिः
संस्कृतं तत्र भवं तस्मिन् प्रा कृ ते शूरसेन्यादौ^३ सं स्क्रु ते [यत्] प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादि-
विभागैः संस्कारमापादितं^४ तस्मिन् गोर्वाणवाख्याम्, त्रिभिरधिका षष्टिः अथवा
चतुर्भिरधिका षष्टिर्वर्णाः स्वयम्भुवा प्रोक्ताः प्रोदिताः स्थानप्रयत्नानुप्रदानकालैः
सम्भवतः सम्भूतेराजान[तः]^५ मता ज्ञाताः ॥३॥

ताननुक्रमेण गणयन् दर्शयति स्वरा इति । अचां स्वरा इति^६ प्राचां
संज्ञा । 'स्वरतेः शब्दार्थस्य करणेऽच् । विंशतिः एकश्च । ते अकारकारावि
उ ए ओ ऐ औ एते ऋस्वदीर्घप्लुतमेदतः'^७ "अकालोज्झस्वदीर्घप्लुतः (पा. १.२.२७)"
इत्यनेन एकद्वित्रिमात्रा एव उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरिता इति प्रत्येकं त्रिविधधर्मा-
सुल्यकाला ऋलकारयुक्ता एकविंशतिसंख्यापूरकाः, यथा अ१ आ२ आ३^८
इ१ ई२ ई३ उ१ ऊ२ ऊ३ ऋ१ ऋ२ ऋ३ एते चत्वारस्त्रिगुणिताः द्वादश । एष्टु^९
ऋस्वाभावाद् दीर्घत्वं प्लुतत्वं [च,] यथा ए२ ए३ ओ२ ओ३ ऐ२ ऐ३ औ२ औ३ एते
अष्टौ^{१०} । लवर्णो न दीर्घ इति स्मरणात् ऋस्व एकः । अत्रोदात्तादिधर्मा
अथेव, उदात्तचैतेन व्याख्यातः । "११स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च ।
व्यञ्जनान्यनुवर्तन्ते यत्र तिष्ठति स स्वरः" (२. ५. २) इति नारदः । तत्रोदात्ते
विनिषोदन्ति सर्वेऽस्मिन् स्वरा इति निषादः,^{११} नसा गन्धवहो वायुर्नाभिः शीर्षगो

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| 1. MSS. विधि. | 2. L. शूरसेन्यादौ. | 3. Be. °दिति. | 4. MSS. °राजन्. |
| 5. Be. omits अचां स्वरा इति. | 6. MSS. स्वयंतेः. | 7. Be. मेदिता. | |
| 8. L. puts ऋ, ऋ२, ऋ३ after this. | 9. Be. चरा for एष्टु. | 10. L. एतेदौ. | |
| 11. MSS. उच्चस्वरो नीचस्वरः. | 12. MSS. नासा. | | |

यस्य उच्चारणे अथवा यस्मिन् प्रगीते गावस्तुथन्तीति गान्धारः तौ । 'अनुदात्ते नामिः कण्ठशीर्षसमाहतौ ऋषभवन्नर्हतीति ऋषभः, षडपि स्वरानतिक्रम्य समीयते इति धैवतः तौ । एते वक्ष्यमाणा हि स्वरितोद्भवाः । [षड्भ्यो]नासाकण्ठोरस्तालु-जिह्वादन्तेभ्यो जातः षड्जः, नाभ्युरोष्ठकण्ठशिरोभ्यो जातः गणनया पञ्चमसङ्ख्या-पूरक इति वा पञ्चमः । 'हृदुरः समाश्रितो नाभिं प्राप्तः स 'मध्यमः ; ते उदात्ता-दिभ्य एव, एषां प्राधान्यभेदेनोदात्तो' व्याख्यातः ॥ स्य र्शा नां पञ्च विंशतिः — पञ्चभिरधिका विंशतिः स्मृतानुप्रदान(१)-धर्मत्वात् स्पर्शाः तेषां संख्या । तेषां पञ्च वर्गाः कुं चु टु तु पुः । च पुनः यादयोऽष्टौ स्मृताः ते य र ल व ह श ष साः । स्वरा अष्टप्रयत्नाः यरलवास्तु किञ्चित्स्मृताः, शषसहा अर्धस्मृताः^६ “त्वो नेम-इत्यर्धस्य” (नि. ३.२०) इति यास्कः । शेषा हलोऽनुक्ताः स्मृता आचार्यैः प्रोक्तास्ते स्पर्शाः स्मृष्टप्रयत्नाः, च पुनश्चत्वारो यमाः कुं खुं गुं घुं इति^७ । “अथानन्त्याश्चत्वारस्ते सयमाः ते” कुं खुं गुं घुं इति अनन्त्य[न्ये]-संयोगेऽ[न]न्यपूर्वेऽन्योत्तरे व्यवधान-वर्जिते तत्र यमा वर्तन्ते न सन्देह इति^८ (गौ. शि. २) । “अनन्तसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्व-गुणः” इत्यौदत्रजिरपि, नारदश्च—“अनन्त्यश्च भवेत् पूर्वो ह्यन्तश्च परतो यदि । तत्र मध्ये यमस्तिष्ठेत् सवर्णः पूर्ववर्णयोः । वर्गान्त्याञ्च शषसैः सार्धमन्तःस्यैवापि संयुतान् । दृष्ट्वा यमा निवर्तन्ते आदेशिकमिवाध्वगाः” (ना.शि. २.२. ८-९) इति । अयमपि वर्णागमो विधीयतेऽस्माच्छास्त्रात् । च त्वा र श्च य मा इति वर्णान्तरत्वेनोपदेशः संयोगशास्त्रात् । तत्र संयोगस्त्रिविधो गौतमेन दर्शितः । “अथ त्रिविधः संयोग-पिण्डो भवत्ययस्त्रिण्डो दारुपिण्डस्तथोर्णापिण्डश्चेति । यमसहितमयस्त्रिण्डं दारु-पिण्डमन्तःस्यैर्यक्तं यमान्तःस्यवर्जं तूर्णापिण्डमिति । अन्तःस्ययमसंयोगे विशेषो नोपलभ्यते इति च । अशरीरं यमं विद्याद्विशेषः पिण्डनायकः” (गौ. शि. १) इति च । ^{१०}यथा पलिकृतीति ककाररूपः पूर्ववर्णसवर्णो यथासङ्ख्यः प्रथमस्तकार-स्तेनायं वर्णक्रमः ककारयमः[ः] ककाररूपः[ः] तकारनकारईकारा अन्तर्वर्तु[त्ती] पलि[क्]तीत्यादि^{११} चख्खनतुरित्यत्र^{१२} खकाररूपः । अग्नि(अग्नि ?) रित्यत्र गकाररूपः । ज[घ्न]तुरित्यत्र घकाररूपः । यज्ञ (यग्न ?) इत्यत्र जगजाः

1. L अनुदात्तो. 2. MSS. हृदुरः. 3. Be. मध्यमस्ते. 4. Be. °भेदेनोदात्तो.
5. Be. omits शषसहा अर्धस्मृताः. 6. L घूमिति. 7. L यमास्ते.
8. Be. इत्यन्त. 9. L adds गौतमः. 10. This passage is very corrupt.
11. Be. अन्तर्वर्तुन्तीत्यादि. 12. Be. चख्खन° or चख्खन°.

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क > षौ चापि पराश्रितौ ।

॥२॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः मृत एव च ॥५॥

(गजजाः १) । अत्र चवर्गद्वितीयो जस्तस्य संख्यासवर्णो गुंकारसमावेशः । वर्णक्रमे यकार-जकार-पूर्ववर्णवर्गसङ्घ-सवर्णयमगकार-जकाराः । वर्गान्धानिति किम् ? उदङ्गक् । अन्तःस्थैरिति किम् ? कार्मन्, ऋच्छु ॥४॥

अनुस्वार इति । “मोऽनुस्वारः” (पा. ८.३.२३) स्वारम् अनु भवतीत्यनुस्वारः । विविधं सृज्यत इति विसर्ग ऊष्मापरसंज्ञः तौ । अलावु न सुखीफलस्य या वीणा तन्निर्वोषो दन्तमूल्यो दन्तमूलस्थानीयः, स्वरान् अकारादीन् अनु लक्ष्यीकृत्य प्राप्तोऽन्वयसंज्ञः । स्वरानुगतो यथा तथा ‘नित्यं ज्ञोः शषसेषु’ प्रत्येकं परेषु कर्तव्यः । नारदोऽपि—“आपद्यते मकारो रेफोऽप्रत्ययेऽनुस्वारम् । यवलेषु परसवर्णं स्पर्शेषु परेषु चोत्तमापत्तिम्” (ना. शि. २.४.४) । अनुस्वारद्वयग्रहणं चतुःषष्टिसङ्ख्यामास्कन्दति अनुस्वारौ^१ विसर्गश्चेति पाठात् । स च यथा सुरादृशजाता स्त्री सानुनासिकं रंगम् अरां इति वाद्यमानकांस्थपात्रशब्दानुकारिणम्^२ अभिवदति तद्वत् रङ्गं द्वितीयम् अनुस्वारं जानीयात् । लौकिकं प्रदर्श्य मन्त्रवर्णीदाहरणम् आह “खे अरां इव खेदये”ति । अचि नियमत्वाद् अनुस्वारोऽल्लु गणितो विकल्पाद[न]ल्लु ज्ञेयम् । तथा “अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं वा स्वरौ वा” (१.११) इति ऋक्पार्षदे शौनकोक्तेः । दृश्यते च “हंसः शुचिषत्” (ऋक्. ४.४०.५) “सोमानं स्वरणम्” (ऋक्. १.१८.१) इत्यादावुदात्तत्वमिति । विसर्गस्य अष्टविधा गतिः । ओकारभावः^३ पुरोहितम्, यदि कदाचिद्रूपणो विसर्गाद् अन्यद् विसर्गाद् विना ओभावप्रसन्धानं^४ गुणकृत्यम् ऊष्मणस्तु सत्वत्त्वोत्वगुणत्वेऽति परे^५ (?) ओत्वम् अत्रोष्मणो^६ भावात् केवलं गुणवत्त्वे उभयोक्तदाहरणयोः सादृश्यं^७ त्रिन्यते । उकार आदिर्यस्य तत्^८ परे यस्य तत्तादृशं स्वरान्तं ओभावान्तं ज्ञेयं व्यक्तम्^९ । त्वोतः । प्रोतः । अत्रोकारान्तं स्वरान्तं तत्र विसर्गान्तमिति । अत एव पदकालेऽवग्रहः । विवृत्ति विवृत्तिभावः । य इन्द्रः[.] । [शषसा] शषसानां भावः । रेफ एव च रकारभावः । ^{१०}दुःशर्षसः[.] । निषषहमाणः^{११} । अपास्सोमं । उषर्व-

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|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Be. अनुस्वारो. | 2. L कांस°, Be. कंस°. | 3. Be. उकारभावः. |
| 4. Be. °प्रसन्धाने. | 5. L पर. | 6. Be. उत्तमवो°. |
| 7. MSS. सादृश्ये. | | |
| 8. MSS. पदं. | 9. MSS. वक्तव्यं. | 10. L दुःश (ट?)° |
| | | 11. Be. निषहमाणः. |

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यर्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।

॥४॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं हृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥

सूयवः । जि ह्वा मूल मु प धा चेति । ×क—पौ कखपफाश्रयौ^१ । त्रित ×कूपे ।
असौ यः—पन्थाः । अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वामूलोपधानीया अयोगवाहा आश्रयस्थान-
भागिनो^२ यमाश्रितास्तस्य स्थानं भजन्तीत्यर्थः । दुः सृष्ट शे ती ति । ईषत्-
सृष्टोऽन्तःस्थसधर्मा लकारः भुतः, एवकारो दीर्घभेदव्यावर्तकः । चकाराद् ऋस्-
सङ्गतः कार्यः । अनुस्वारादयो लभ्युतान्ताः पञ्च षड् वा । एवमेते त्रिषष्टि-
चतुःषष्टिर्वा व्याख्याताः ॥५॥

वर्णसंख्यां विधाय सम्प्रति वर्णोत्पत्तिं वक्तुम् उत्पादयितुर्विवेकमुद्यमं^३
चाह—आ के ति । अतनशीलः सरणशीलो वाऽदनशीलो वा त्रयोदशेन्द्रियातीतः
कर्मा(र्ता ?)त्मा “तस्य हितस्य हृदयस्यायं प्रद्योतते तेन प्रद्योतेनैष आत्मा निष्क्रामति
चक्षुषो वा मूर्ध्नी वाऽन्त्येभ्यो वा शरीरदेशेभ्यः” (बृह.आ.४.४.२) इति विज्ञायते ।
“एवमेष सम्प्रसादोऽस्माच्छरीरात् समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरूपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभि-
निष्पद्यते” (हान्दो.८.१२.३) इत्येवं क एषाम् उच्चारयितेति प्रश्नस्योत्तरम्
आ के ति हान्दोग्यश्रुतौ प्रतिपादितो बुद्ध्याख्येनेन्द्रियेन अर्थान् प्रयोजनानि
निश्चित्य मन इन्द्रियं वक्तां योजयति प्रेरयति, तन्मनः कायान्तर्वर्तिनं जाठराग्निम्
[आहन्ति] प्रेरयति । सोऽप्यग्निर्मारुतं वायुं प्रेरयति ॥६॥

मा रु त स्वि ति । स वायुरुर्ध्वगत्या उरसि हृद्देशे चरन् मन्द्रं स्वरं,
“स्फायितं चौ” (उ.सू.२.१२) त्यादिना मन्दे रक् प्रत्ययः, जनयत्युत्पादयति ।
तं स्वरं प्रातःसवनयुक्तं गायत्रं हृन्द आश्रितं जानीयात् । मन्द्रया वाचा
प्रातःसवनमिति सोमयज्ञः (-यज्ञियः ?) कल्पः ॥७॥

1. L पराश्रयोः

2. L भाविनी.

3. Be. °विवेक°.

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।

॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

सोदीर्णीं मूर्ध्नि अभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।

॥६॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥९॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।

॥७॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥८॥ ऋस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥

* उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवतौ ।

स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥१२॥

कण्ठ इति । तं मारुतं कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनसवनयुक्तं मध्यमस्वरयुतं त्रिष्टुप्छन्दस्कं जानीयात् तं शीर्षण्यं शीर्षि भवं “शीर्षेच्छन्दसौ”ति (पा. ६.१.६०) शिरसः शीर्षभावः, तृतीयसवनयुतं जागतच्छन्दस्कं जानीयात् ॥८॥

सो दीर्ण इति ॥ स वायुरुदीर्णो मूर्ध्नि अहारे (?) अभिहतः फालितः वक्त्रविवरं प्राप्य वर्णान् जनयते । “संहितायाम्” (पा. ६.१.७२) अधिकृत्य “सोऽपि लोपे चेत् पादपूरणम्” (पा. ६.१.१३४) इति सलोपे गुणः । तथा । “यासौ” मित्रावरुणसदनादुच्चरन्ती त्रिषष्टिं वर्णान्तःप्रकटकरणैः प्राणसङ्गप्रसूती । तां पश्यन्तीं प्रथममुदितां मध्यमां बुद्धिसंस्थां वाचं वक्त्रे करणविशदा वैखरो च प्रपद्ये” इति । तथा च मन्त्रवर्णः । “चत्वारि वाक्परिमितपदानीति विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः । गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति” (ऋक्. १.१६४.४५) इति ॥९॥

तेषां वर्णाणां वक्ष्यमाणो विभागः पञ्चप्रकारः स्मृतः । तमेव दर्शयति— स्वरत इति उदात्तषड्जमन्द्रादिभ्यः, कालत उच्चारात्, स्थानादष्टविधात्, प्रयत्नाद् असृष्टादेः, अनुप्रदानतः अनुनासिकादेः । अनुप्रदानान्युपरिष्ठाद् व्याख्यास्यामः । तत्सर्वं वक्ष्यमाणं नितरां जानीत ॥१०-१२॥

1. Be. omits कण्ठ इति.

2. MSS. after this तत्र भवं.

3. MSS. वासं.

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥9॥ जिह्वाभूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकीष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

* ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शषसा रेफ एव च ।

जिह्वाभूलमुपधा च गतिरष्टविधोष्मणः ॥१४॥

* यद्योभावप्रसन्धानमुकारादिपरं पदम् ।

स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद्वाक्तमूष्मणः ॥१५॥

हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।

॥10॥ औरसं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठग्रामाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१६॥

कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ।

॥12a॥ जिह्वाभूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ॥१७॥

अष्टा विति निगदोऽयम् ॥१३-१५॥

हकारमिति । वर्णाणां पञ्चमैः ङजणनमैः च पुनः अन्तःस्थैः यरलवैः संयुतं हकारं औरसं उरःस्थानीयं तं विजानीयात् । असंयुतं केवलं हकारं कण्ठग्रामाहुः ॥१६॥

कण्ठावहाविति । अहौ अवर्णहकारौ कण्ठगौ स्याताम् । पुनर्ग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । इवर्णश्चवर्गो यकारः शकारश्चेति तालव्याः । [यद्]-यत्स्थानस्वरान्वितं हल् तत्तत्स्वरस्थानार्धमात्रकं^१ ज्ञेयम् । ^२अत्रोकारोऽनुबन्धो वर्णगणं बोधयति चुटुइतिवत् । उवर्णपवर्गावोष्ठगौ । ऋवर्णष्टवर्गो रकारः षकारश्च मूर्धन्याः स्युः । लवर्णस्तवर्गो लकारः सकारश्च दन्त्याः स्मृताः । तु पुनर् जिह्वाभूले कवर्गः आचार्यैरन्यथ प्रोक्तः “अथ षष्ठ ऊष्मा जिह्वाभूलीयाः प्रथमश्च वर्गः”^३ (ऋ. प्रा. १.१८) इति शौनकोक्तेः । वकारो धीमदभिर्दन्तोष्ठाभ्यां जातो दन्तोष्ठः स्मृतः ॥१७॥

॥15b॥ अलावुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः खराननु ।

॥16a॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं ङोः शषसेष्वपि ॥१८॥

* यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तक्रं इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्या खे अरां इव खेदया ।

॥12b॥ एऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओऔ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१९॥

अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥13॥ एकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥२०॥

॥14b॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वाभूलीयनासिके ।

॥15a॥ अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥२१॥

* खराणामूष्मणां चैव विवृतं करणं स्मृतम् ।

तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेङ्गौ ताभ्यामैचौ तथैव च ॥२२॥

अनुस्वारस्त्विति । अनुस्वारो नासिक्यो ज्ञेयः^१ । एतेन द्वावपि व्याख्यातौ ।
वर्गाणां पञ्चमाः ङजणनमा नासिक्याः (१) । अपिशब्दात् खवर्गस्थानीया अपि ॥१८॥

कण्ठतालुभ्यां जाताविवर्णवर्णौ^२ स्मृतौ । ओवर्णवर्णौ^३ कण्ठो-
ष्ठभ्यां जातौ स्मृतौ । अत्रोपदेशरूपत्वात् सन्धिः 'अइउण' इतिवत् । तत्र
विविनक्ति—'ए कारौ कारयो खवर्धमात्रा कण्ठस्य भवेत्, अन्या त्व[ध्य]ध-
मात्रा उक्त[ान्य]स्थानस्य । इकारोकारान्तवर्णौ^४ ऐ[औ]^५ क्रमेण विवृत-
संवृतप्रयत्नौ^६ ज्ञेयौ । उ प ध्मा नी य इति व्याख्यातः ॥१८-२१॥

ऊ ष णा मि ति । ह्रस्वषसानाम् अर्जा विवृतं करणं प्रयत्नं^७ स्मृतं शिष्टैः ।
तेभ्यो^८ एङ्गौ एओस्सञ्ज्ञौ विवृतप्रयत्नौ ताभ्याम् [ऐचौ] ऐ औ विवृतौ^९ ।
व्याख्यातमन्यत् ॥२२॥

1. Be. ज्ञेयम्.

2. Be. L जातविवर्णवर्णौ.

3. L उवर्णवर्णौ.

4. L इकारौकार°.

5. Be. L इकारोकारान्तवर्तमानौ.

6. Be. L एऐ.

7. L प्रयतनौ.

8. L प्रयतन°.

9. Be. तेभ्योज्जौ एङ्गौ.

10. Be. adds ततोऽपि ताभ्यामपि च पुनराकारी विवृताख्यः

- ॥16b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः शलस्तथा ।
 शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥२३॥
- ॥17॥ अमोऽनुनासिका नङ्गो नादिनो ह्रस्वः स्मृताः ।
 ईषन्नादा यणजशश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ।
- ॥18॥ ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥२४॥
- * कुतीर्थादागतं दग्धमपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।
 न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥२५॥
- * सुतीर्थादागतं व्यक्तं स्वाम्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
 सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म राजति ॥२६॥

निबोधानुप्रदानत इति । अनुपस्थात् प्रदानं स्वस्थानाद् अन्यस्थान-
 सुच्चारणभेदेन प्रदीयते तत्तस्मात् शिष्य निबोध जानीहि ॥२३॥

अमोऽनुनासिका इति । अ इ उ ण् । ऋ लृ क् । ए ओ ङ् ।
 ऐ औ च् । ह य व र ट् । ल ण् । ज म ङ ण न म् एतेऽमोऽनुनासिका
 हरवर्जिताः । ह्रस्वमघट्टधाः नादिनः नादानुप्रदानाः । जवगडडा ईषत्^१
 किञ्चिन्न्यूननादानुप्रदानाः खफकृठथाः श्वासिनस्तु [चटतकप]शषसा किञ्चिन्-
 न्यूनश्वासान् जानीयात् । एतद् गोर्वाचो धाम स्थानम् आचार्यः प्रचक्षते ॥२४॥

श्रेष्ठेभ्योऽध्यापकमुपदिशन् कूपदेशकं निन्दति कुतीर्थादिति । अननू-
 चानात् तीर्थाद् गुरोः । “निपातागमयोस्तीर्थम् ऋष्टिजुष्टे जले गुरावि”ति नाम-
 लिङ्गानुशासने । प्राप्तं दग्धं भक्षवद् गतरसम् अपगतवर्णम् अयथोदितस्थानवर्णं च
 भक्षितम् अ[न]ादराद् घुष्टं तस्य घोषयितुः परिमोक्षो नास्ति । कस्येव ?
 पापाहेरिव, हन्तुरिव किल्बिषाद् मोक्षो नास्तीति ॥२५॥

स्तीति च सुतीर्थादिति । सुगुरोः प्राप्तम् अभ्यस्तं सुसम्प्रदायि ब्रह्म
 वेदाख्यं राजति शोभते ॥२६॥

- * न करालो न लम्बोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।
गद्गदो बद्धजिह्वश्च प्रयोगान् वक्तुमर्हति ॥२७॥
- * यथा व्याघ्रौ हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न च पीडयेत् ।
भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२८॥
- * एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पीडिताः ।
सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥२९॥
- * अभ्यासार्थं द्रुतां वृत्तिं प्रयोगार्थं तु मध्यमाम् ।
शिष्याणामुपदेशार्थं कुर्याद् वृत्तिं विलम्बिताम् ॥३०॥
- * शङ्करः शङ्करो प्रादाद् दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ।
दाक्षीपुत्रपाणिनिना येनेदं व्याहृतं भुवि ।
रत्नभूतमिदं शास्त्रं पृथिव्यां सम्प्रकाशितम् ॥३१॥

न क रा ल इति । नकारो 'नानुनासिक'पदाद् अग्रे योजनीयः ॥२७॥

य ये ति । पतनं च भेदश्च तौ ताभ्यां भीता व्याघ्रो श्वापदजातिस्त्रौ यथा पुत्रान् बालान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न पीडयेत् तद्वद् वर्णान् ब्रूयादिति ॥२८॥

ए व मि ति । एवं नाव्यक्ताः न पीडिताश्च वर्णा प्रयोजनीयाः । सम्यक्-स्थानप्रयत्नादिविधिना यद्योक्तेन प्रयोगेन ब्रह्मलोके प्रयोक्ता पूज्यते किं पुनर्भूतले इति भावः, एवं सम्यक् ज्ञातः स्वर्गकामधेनुर्वर्णः स्याद् इत्यर्थः ॥२९॥

अ भ्या सा र्थे इति । द्रुतां विलम्बितां मध्यमाम् अभ्यासार्थं कुर्यात् । व्याख्यातमन्यत् ॥३०॥

श ङ् क र इति । शं सुखं स्नेच्छत्वादिरोगाणां शमनं करोतीति शङ्करः शिवः शङ्करणशीलां शब्दशास्त्रविद्याम् । दाक्षी दक्षस्यापत्यं "तस्यापत्यम्" (पा. ४.१.८२) इत्यण् "टिड्ढाणञ्" (पा. ४.१.१५) इत्यादिना डीप् तस्याः पुत्राय धीमतेऽतिसुबुद्धये प्रादात् । कोऽसावित्याकाङ्क्षायाम् आह—दा क्षी पु त्र इति । यः पाणिनिः पणिनो युवाऽपत्यम् । "अत इज्" (पा. ४.१.८५)

* विनयनमुखनिःसृतामिमां

य इह पठेत् प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्

सुखमतुलं च समश्नुते दिवि दिवीति ॥३२॥

येन पाणिनिना इदं प्रत्यक्षं शब्दशास्त्रं व्याहृतम्^१ उक्तम् । तस्मै पाणिनये नम इति^२ पूर्वेण सम्बन्धः । पाणिनेय इति पाठे शुभ्रादित्वं (पा. ४.१.१२३) कल्प्यम् । रत्न भू त मि ति स्पष्टम् ॥३१॥

‘वि न य न सु ख निः सृ ता मि ति । यो द्विजो वेदाधिकारो [प्रयतः] सावधानः सदा निरन्तरम् [इमां] पठेत् स [इह] पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान् भवति । दिवि सुखम् अतुलं समश्नुते भुनक्ति, स्वर्गं व्याप्नोति वा । द्विर्वचनं शिक्षाध्याय-समाप्त्यर्थम् । विकृतिच्छन्दस्यङ्गसममपरवक्तव्यत्तम् “अर्हसमा अर्हं” (पि. ५.३१) इत्यधिकृत्य, “अपरवक्त” नौ लौगिन् जौञ्जा” (पि. ५.४०) विति लक्षणसूत्रात् ॥ इति शिक्षाप्रकाशः समाप्तः^४ ॥३२॥

1. L Be. °दं. 2. Be. omits इति. 3. L Be. विनयनाभिमुखनिःसृ°.

4. L reads also संवत् १८४३ पिंगलाब्दे जेष्ठे शुक्लप्रतिपदि दशहरारंभदिने श्रीकाश्यां श्रीदुर्गविनायकसन्निधौ ब्रह्मोपनाम्ना खण्डभट्टात्मजवीरिन्देन लिखितमिदम् । ६ ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥

॥५॥

V. यजुःशाखीया (The Yajus Recension)

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।
¹शास्त्रानुपूर्वं तद् विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥
 प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थम् अविज्ञातम् अबुद्धिभिः ।
 पुनर्यत्नोक्तिरित्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥
 त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः ²सम्भवतो मताः ।
 प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

॥1॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च प्लक्ष्यौ चापि ³पराश्रयौ ।

॥2॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः प्लुत एव च ॥५॥

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारो ⁴अरां इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं ⁵रङ्गं विजानीयात् खे अरां इव खेदया ॥६॥

हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तम् ⁶अन्तःस्थैश्चापि संयुतम् ।

॥10॥ ⁷औरसं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥७॥

आत्मा बुद्ध्या ⁸समर्थ्यार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

॥3॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥८॥

1. B ⁰पूर्वं.

3. B पराश्रये, L. पराश्रितौ.

5. CL रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः खे अरा इव खेदया.

7. CL औरसं.

2. C सम्भवते, L. शम्भवते.

4. CD तक्र इत्यभिभाषते, L. तक्रं इत्यभिभाषते.

6. CL अन्तःस्थाभिश्च.

8. CDL समर्थ्याणां.

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।

॥४॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं कृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥६॥

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।

॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥१०॥

सोदीर्णीं सूक्ष्मं अभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।

॥६॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥११॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।

॥७॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१२॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥९॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

उदात्ते निषादगाधारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवती ।

स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जपञ्चममध्यमाः ॥१४॥

ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च श्रवसा रेफ एव च ।

जिह्वामूलम् उपधा च गतिरष्टविधोष्णः ॥१५॥

यद्योभावप्रसन्धानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।

स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यद् अन्यद् व्यक्तम् जपणः ॥१६॥

कुतीर्याद् आगतं दग्धम् अपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।

न तस्य परिमोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥१७॥

सुब्रीर्याद् आगतं जग्धं स्वाम्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।

सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म राजति ॥१८॥

न करालो न लम्बोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।

गदगदो बह्वजिह्वश्च प्रयोगान् वक्तुम् अर्हति ॥१९॥

1. Weber reads °सन्धानमकारादिपरं.

3. CDL व्यक्तं स्वाम्नाय्यं

2. CDL न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति.

4. CDL राजते.

¹यथा व्याघ्री हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न च पीडयेत् ।

भौता पतनमेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२०॥

एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पीडिताः ।

सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके ²महीयते ॥२१॥

अभ्यासार्थं दृतां वृत्तिं प्रयोगार्थं तु मध्यमाम् ।

शिष्याणाम् उपदेशार्थं कुर्याद् वृत्तिं विलम्बिताम् ॥२२॥

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥८॥ ऋस्वो दीर्घः झुत इति कालतो नियमा ³अचि ॥२३॥

कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥११॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥२४॥

जिह्वाभूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्यौष्ठो वः स्मृतौ बुधैः ।

॥१२॥ ए ऐ तु ⁴कण्ठातालव्या ओ औ कण्ठौष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥२५॥

अर्धमात्रा तु ⁵कण्ठास्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥१३॥ ⁶एकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥२६॥

॥१४b॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वाभूलीयनासिके ।

अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया ⁷आश्रयस्थानभाविनः ॥२७॥

॥१५॥ अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषो ⁸दन्तमूल्यः ⁹स्वरानुगः ।

॥१६a॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं ङोः शषसेषु च ॥२८॥

¹⁰ऊष्मणां च स्वराणां च विवृतं करणं स्मृतम् ।

तेभ्योऽपि ¹¹विवृतावेडौ ¹²ताभ्याम् ऐचौ ततोऽपि च ॥२९॥

1. CDL व्याघ्री यथा...दंष्ट्राभ्यां न च.

2. CDL न हीयते.

3. A अचि.

4. CL कण्ठातालव्या.

5. A कण्ठस्य; CDL. कण्ठा स्याद् एकारयोर्.

6. Weber reads इकारौकारयोर्भवे ए ऐ, CDL ओकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम्.

7. CL आश्रयस्थानभाविनः.

8. AL दन्तमूल्यः, BW दन्त, CW मूल्यः.

9. CL स्वरान् अनु.

10. CL स्वराणामूष्मणां चैव.

11. ABW विवृतावेडौ.

12. AW ताभ्यामेतौ, CL ताभ्यामेचौ तथैव च.

॥16b॥ अचोऽसृष्टा ¹यणस्त्वौषन्नेमसृष्टाः शलः स्मृताः ।

शेषाः सृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥३०॥

॥17॥ ²यमोऽनुनासिका ³नङ्गौ नादिनो ⁴हभषः स्मृताः ।

ईषन्नादा ⁵यणजशश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ॥३१॥

॥18॥ ⁶ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ।

शङ्करः ⁷शङ्करौ प्रादात् दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ॥३२॥

दाक्षीपुत्रः ⁸पाणिनियो येनेदं व्याहृतं भुवि ।

रत्नभूतम् इदं शास्त्रं पृथिव्यां सम्प्रकाशितम् ॥३३॥

येनाक्षरसमाम्नायम् अधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।

कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥३४॥

⁹विनयनमुखनिःसृताम् इमां

य इह पठेत् ¹⁰प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति ¹¹पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्

¹²सुखम् अतुलं च समश्नुते दिवि दिवीति ॥३५॥

1. CL °नेमैः सृष्टा शरः, B नेमसृष्टाः शलः ; AW °नेमसृष्टाशल्.

2. CL यमो, B यशमो. (अपमौ sec. m) AW जमो.

3. CL नङ्गो.

4. B हन्वष ; CL यषं जश्, ABW य ए यशश्.

5. AW ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो.

6. B ईषच्छ्वासश्, C ईषच्छ्वासाश्.

7. ABW शङ्करौ.

8. CL पाणिनिना.

9. CL विनयनमभिमुख.

10. CL प्रयतश्.

11. Weber reads धनधान्य before पशुपुत्र°.

12. CL अतुलं च सुखं समश्नुते.

॥६॥

VI. ऋक्शाखीया (The Rk Recension

[१]

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।
'शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यं तद्विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥
प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थम् अविघ्नातम् अबुद्धिभिः ।
पुनर्व्यक्तोक्तिरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥
त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः शम्भुमते मताः ।
प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ^३ × क ँ षौ चापि पराश्रितौ ।

॥२॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः झुत एव च ॥५॥

[२]

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यर्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।

॥४॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं हृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।

॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

1. Y. पूर्वं.

2. Y. सुम्भवतो.

3. Y. कषौ.

4. Y. समर्थार्थान्

सोदीर्घो मूर्ध्नाभिहतो वक्तृमापद्य मारुतः ।

॥६॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥६॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।

॥७॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥

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उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥८॥ ऋस्वो दीर्घः झुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवती ।

स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥१२॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥९॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च श्पसा रेफ एव च ।

जिह्वामूलम् उपश्मा च गतिरष्टविधोष्मणः ॥१४॥

यश्चोभावप्रसन्धानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।

स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद् व्यक्तम् जष्मणः ॥१५॥

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हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तम् अन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।

॥१०॥ औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठग्रमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१६॥

कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥११॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या तृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१७॥

जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।

॥१२॥ ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥१८॥

अर्धमात्रा तु ^१कण्ठास्य ह्येकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥१३॥ ओकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥१८॥

संवृतं मात्रिकं ज्ञेयं विवृतं तु द्विमात्रिकम् ।

घोषा वा संवृताः सर्वे अवघोषा विवृताः स्मृताः ॥२०॥

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^२स्वराणाम् ऊष्मणां चैव विवृतं करणं स्मृतम् ।

तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेडौ ताभ्याम् ऐचौ ^३तथैव च ॥२१॥

॥१४॥ अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिका स्थानमुच्यते ^४ ।

अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया ^५आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥२२॥

॥१५॥ अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः ^६स्वरानुगः ।

॥१६॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं क्लृप्तः शेषेषु च ॥२३॥

अनुस्वारे विवृत्त्यां तु विरामे चाक्षरद्वये ।

द्विरोष्ठौ तु विगृह्णीयाद् यत्नीकारवकारयोः ॥२४॥

^७व्याघ्री यथा हरेत् पुत्रान् द्रष्टाभ्यां न च पीडयेत् ।

भोता पतनमेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२५॥

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यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तक्रां इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं ^८रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः खे अरां इव खेदया ॥२६॥

रङ्गवर्णं प्रयुञ्जीरन् नो यमेत् पूर्वम् अक्षरम् ।

दीर्घस्वरं प्रयुञ्जीयात् पञ्चानासिक्यम् आचरेत् ॥२७॥

हृदये चैकमात्रस्तु अर्धमात्रस्तु मूर्धनि ।

नासिकायां त्वथार्धं च रङ्गस्यैव द्विमात्रता ॥२८॥

1. Ch कण्ठा स्यादेकारौकारः, Y कण्ठास्य एकारौकारः
2. Y ऊष्मणां च स्वराणां च.
3. Y ततोऽपि च.
4. Y has after this उपमानोप कथा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके.
5. Y °स्थानभागिनः.
6. CL. स्वरान् अनु.
7. Y यथा व्याघ्री...द्रष्टाभिर्न च.
8. Y रङ्गं विजानीयात्.

१द्वयादुत्कटे तिष्ठन् कांस्थेन स्वमनुस्वरन् ।
 मार्दवं च हिमात्रं च जघन्वां इति निदर्शनम् ॥२८॥
 मध्ये तु कम्पयेत् कम्पम् उभौ पाश्वौ २समो भवेत् ।
 सरङ्गं कम्पयेत् कम्पं रथीवेति निदर्शनम् ॥३०॥

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एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पण्डिताः ।
 सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥३१॥
 गीती शीघ्री शिरःकम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः ।
 अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षडेति पाठकाधमाः ॥३२॥
 माधुर्यम् अक्षरव्यक्तिः पदच्छेदस्तु सुस्वरः ।
 धैर्यं लयसमर्थं (?) च षडेति पाठका (?) गुणाः ॥३३॥
 शङ्कितम् भौतम् ३उद्वुष्टम् अव्यक्तम् अनुनासिकम् ।
 काकस्वरं ४शिरसिगं तथा स्थानविवर्जितम् ॥३४॥
 उपांशु दष्टं त्वरितं निरस्तं विलम्बितं गङ्गदितं प्रगीतम् ।
 निष्पण्डितं यस्तपदाक्षरं च वदेन्नदीनं न तु सानुमास्यम् ॥३५॥
 प्रातः पठेन्नित्यम् उरःस्थितेन स्वरेण शार्दूलरतोपमेन ।
 मध्यन्दिने कण्ठगतेन चैव चक्राह्वसंकूजितसन्निभेन ॥३६॥
 तारं तु विद्यात् ५सवने तृतीये शिरोगतं तच्च सदा प्रयोज्यम् ।
 ६मयूरहंसान्यभृतस्वराणां तुल्येन नादेन शिरःस्थितेन ॥३७॥

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॥16b॥ अचोऽसृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमसृष्टाः १शरः स्मृताः ।
 शेषाः सृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥३८॥
 ॥17॥ यमोऽनुनासिका २नङ्गो नादिनो ह्रस्वः स्मृताः ।
 ईषन्नादा ३यणो जश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ॥३९॥

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. C °दुत्करे L °दुत्कदे. | 2. CL समौ. | 3. Weber reads उद्वुष्टं. |
| 4. Weber reads शिरःसिगं. | 5. सवने तृतीयं. | 6. Ch °हंसानुभृत°. |
| 7. Y शलः. | 8. Y नङ्गौ. | 9. Y यणयश्च. |

॥१८॥ ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ।

१दाक्षीपुत्रः पाणिनिना येनेदं २व्यापितं भुवि ॥४०॥

कन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ पठ्यते ।

ज्योतिषाम् अयनं चक्षुनिरुक्तं श्रोत्रम् उच्यते ॥४१॥

शिखा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम् ।

तस्मात् साङ्गम् अधीत्यैव ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥४२॥

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उदात्तम् आख्याति वषोऽङ्गुलीनां प्रदेशिनीमूलनिविष्टमूर्धा ।

उपान्तमध्ये स्वरितं ३धृतं च कनिष्ठिकायामनुदात्तमेव ॥४३॥

उदात्तं प्रदेशिनीं विद्यात् प्रचयं मध्यतोऽङ्गुलिम् ।

निहतं तु कनिष्ठिकां स्वरितोपकनिष्ठिकाम् ॥४४॥

अन्तोदात्तम् आद्युदात्तम् उदात्तम् अनुदात्तं नोचस्वरितम् ।

मध्योदात्तं स्वरितं हुप्रदात्तं वृप्रदात्तमिति नवपदशय्या ॥४५॥

अग्निः सोमः प्र वो वीर्यं हविषा स्वरं ब्रह्मस्यतिः इन्द्राब्रह्मस्यती ।

अग्निरित्यन्तोदात्तं सोम इत्याद्युदात्तं प्रेत्युदात्तं

व इत्यनुदात्तं वीर्यं नोचस्वरितम् ॥४६॥

हविषा मध्योदात्तं स्वरितं स्वरितं ब्रह्मस्यतिरिति हुप्रदात्तम्

इन्द्राब्रह्मस्यती इति वृप्रदात्तम् ॥४७॥

अनुदात्तो हृदि ज्ञेयो मूर्ध्नुप्रदात्त उदाहृतः ।

स्वरितः कर्णमूलीयः सर्वास्ये प्रचयः स्मृतः ॥४८॥

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चापसु वदते मात्रां द्विमात्रं चैव वायसः ।

शिखी रौति त्रिमात्रं तु नकुलस्त्वर्धमात्रकम् ॥४९॥

कुतीर्यादागतं दग्धमपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।

न तस्य १पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाङ्गिरिव किल्बिषात् ॥५०॥

1. Ch दाक्षीपुत्र°, Y. °पुत्रः पाणिनेयो.

3. Weber reads धृतश्च. Ch धृतं च.

2. Y व्याहृतं भुवि

4. Y परिमोक्षोऽस्ति.

सुतीर्थादागतं ^१व्यक्तं स्वाम्नायं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
 सुखरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म ^२राजते ॥५१॥
 मन्त्रो ह्येनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
 स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥५२॥
 अवक्षरम् (?) अनायुथं विस्वरं व्याधिपोडितम् ।
 अक्षताशस्त्ररूपेण (?) वज्रं पतति मस्तके ॥५३॥
 हस्तह्येनं योऽधीते स्वरवर्णविवर्जितम् ।
 ऋग्यजुःसामभिर्दग्धो वियोनिम् अधिगच्छति ॥५४॥
 हस्तेन वेदं योऽधीते स्वरवर्णार्थसंयुतम् ।
 ऋग्यजुःसामभिः पृतो ब्रह्मलोके महोयते ॥५५॥

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शङ्करः शाङ्करीं प्रादाद् दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ।
 वाङ्मयेभ्यः समाहृत्य देवीं वाचमिति स्थितिः ॥५६॥
 येनाक्षरसमाम्नायम् अधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
 कृतस्त्रं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५७॥
 येन धीता गिरः पुंसां विमलैः शब्दवारिभिः ।
 तमश्वाज्ञानजं भिन्नं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५८॥
 अज्ञानान्धस्य लोकस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।
 चक्षुरन्मूलितं येन तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५९॥
^३त्रिनयनमभिसुखनिःसृतामिमां

य इह पठेत् ^४प्रयतश्च सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति धनधान्यपशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्

^५अतुलं च सुखं समश्नुते दिवीति दिवीति ॥६०॥

अथ शिखाम्, आत्मा, उदात्तश्च, हकारं, खराणां, यथा,
 गीतौ, अचोऽसृष्टा, उदात्तं, चाषस्तु, शङ्कर एकादश ॥

इति पाणिनीय-शिखा समाप्ता ॥

1. Y जग्धः.

2. Y राजते.

3. Y त्रिनयनसुखनिःसृता°

4. Y प्रयतः सदा.

5. Y सुखमतुलं च सम°.

परिशिष्टम्

चान्द्र-वर्णसूत्राणि

Varna-Sūtras of Candragomin

ॐ विघ्नान्तकाय नमः । ॐ ॥

स्थानकरणप्रयत्नेभ्यो वर्णा जायन्ते ॥१॥

तत्र स्था न म् ॥२॥

कण्ठः अकुङ्कविसर्जनीयानाम् ॥३॥

कण्ठतालुकम् इदेदेताम् ॥४॥

कण्ठौष्ठम् उदोदौताम् ॥५॥

मूर्धा ऋटुरषाणाम् ॥६॥

दन्ताः लृतुलसानाम् ॥७॥

नासिका अनुस्वारस्य ॥८॥

स्वस्थानानुनासिकाः डञ्जनमाः ॥९॥

तालु इयुयशानाम् ॥१०॥

ओष्ठौ उपधानीययोः ॥११॥

दन्तीष्ठं वकारस्य ॥१२॥

जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य (ययोः) ॥१३॥

क र ण म् ॥१४॥

जिह्वाग्रं दन्तानाम् ॥१५॥

जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम् ॥१६॥

जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्थानाम् ॥१७॥

शेषाः स्वस्थानका(क)रणाः ॥१८॥

प्र य त्त्रो द्विविधः ॥१९॥

आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥२०॥

तत्र आ भ्य न्त रः ॥२१॥

संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं स्पृष्टत्वम् ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥२२॥

संवृतत्वम् अकारस्य ॥२३॥

विद्वत्तम् जघर्णा खराणां च ॥२४॥
 तेभ्यो विद्वत्तत्वं त्वेदीतोः (त्वेदीतोः) ॥२५॥
 ताभ्याम् ऐदीतोः ॥२६॥
 ताभ्यामप्यकारस्य ॥२७॥
 स्पृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥२८॥
 ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं त्वन्तःस्थानाम् ॥२९॥

वा ऋः ॥३०॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वाभ्रूलीयोपधानीयाश्च
 विद्वत्तकण्ठा [अ-]नादानुप्रदाना अघोषाः ॥३१॥
 प्रथमद्वितीयपञ्चमा अन्तःस्थाश्चाल्पप्राणाः ॥३२॥
 इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः ॥३३॥
 तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तःस्थङ्काराः
 संवृत्तकण्ठ[ः] नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥३४॥
 द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शषसहासोष्माणः ॥३५॥
 कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः ॥३६॥
 अन्तःस्था यरलवाः ॥३७॥ इत्येष वाङ्मयः प्रयत्नः ॥

अत्र चावर्णो ऋस्वो दीर्घः भुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः प्रत्येकम् उदात्तानुदात्त-
 स्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति ॥३८॥

एवमिवर्णोवर्णो ऋवर्णश्च ॥३९॥

लवर्णस्य दीर्घो नास्ति तेन द्वादशधा भवति ॥४०॥

एकमात्रिको ऋस्वः ॥४१॥

द्विमात्रिको दीर्घः ॥४२॥

त्रिमात्रिकः भुतः ॥४३॥

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥४४॥

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥४५॥

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥४६॥

स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च ॥४७॥

अन्तःस्था द्विप्रभेदा रेफवर्जिताः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्चेति ॥४८॥

इति चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि समाप्तानि ॥

THE PĀNINĪYA-SIKṢĀ

With Translation and Notes (Critical and Exegetical)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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THE PĀṆINĪYA SIKṢĀ

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[a i u-ṇ || ṛ l-k || e o-ñ || ai au-c || ha ya va ra -t || la-ṇ ||
ña ma ña ṇa na-m || jha bha-ñ || gha ḍha dha-ṣ || ja ba ga ḍa da-ś ||
kha pha cha ṭha tha ca ṭa ta-v || ka pa-y || śa ṣa sa-r || ha-l.]

NOTE 1. The Varṇa-samāmnāya (or the so-called Siva-sūtras) whether it was composed by Pāṇini or any of his predecessors was in all likelihood an essential part of the PŚ. and constituted its beginning, for pratyāhāras like *ac*, *yaṇ*, *śar*, etc., have been used in that work. But there being no direct evidence about its assumed place in the PŚ. we have put it within square brackets. (For detailed discussion on its age and authorship as well as other points, see Introduction, §§ 12-15).

NOTE 2. The Pñj., Prk., Yaj. and Rk recensions begin with the three following couplets :

*Atha śikṣāṃ pravakṣyāmi Pāṇinīyaṃ matam yathā |
śāstrānupūrvyaṃ tad vidyād yathoktaṃ loka-vedayoḥ ||* (1)

*Prasiddham api śabdārtham avijñātam abuddhibhiḥ |
punar vyaktīkariṣyāmi vāca uccāraṇe vidhim ||* (2)

*Tri-ṣaṣṭiś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭir vā varṇāḥ sambhavato matāḥ |
Prākṛte Saṃskṛte cāpi svayaṃ proktāḥ Svayambhuvā ||* (3)

Tr. Now I shall give out the Śikṣā according to the views of Pāṇini. In pursuance of the traditional lore, one should learn it with reference to the popular and the Vedic languages. Though words and their meaning are well known, yet these are not within the knowledge of persons intellectually deficient, (hence) I shall dwell once more on the rules regarding the pronunciation of words. That speech-sounds in Prakrit and Sanskrit are sixty-three or sixty-four, according to their origin, has been said by Brahman (Svayambhū) himself. [1-3].

a. The expression *Pāṇinīyaṃ mataṃ yathā* agrees with the following which occurs later on in all recensions (except the AP.): *Samkaraḥ sāmkaṛiṃ prādād Dākṣiṃputrāya dhimate*. It appears that the compiler of the AP. did not know who the author of the PS. was. For, though in the introduction of his metrics (ch. 328 AP. ed. Ānandāśrama) he writes: *chando vakṣye mūlajais taiḥ Piṅgalōktaṃ yathākramam* he is quite silent about the source of the Sikṣā given by him. It is not so much likely that Pāṇini like later authors would put in his own name in his work, for in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* too he does not mention himself. This ignorance of the compiler of the AP. along with the defective nature of the text of the PS. as given in his work probably goes to show that at his time (c. 800 A.C.) the PS. was not a frequently studied work. The *Prātisākhya*s which are later than PS. must have supplanted it to a considerable extent at that time. That the author of the AP. leaves out as many as six hemistichs out of eighteen couplets shows the damaged condition in which his material had already reached at the time of the compilation of the AP.

b. The expression *tri-ṣaṣṭiś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭir vā* shows how the author of these spurious verses felt a difficulty over the meaning of the first two couplets of the PS. and could not say for certain whether 63 or 64 letters were meant by Pāṇini. Kauṭīliya *Arthaśāstra* (c. 300 B.C) knows only 63 letters (see ed. Jolly, II. 9.14). The AP. contains none of these couplets except the first half of the third in the following form: *vakṣye śikṣāṃ triṣaṣṭiḥ syur varṇā vā catur-adhikāḥ*. It is evident that the compiler of the AP. too felt a difficulty over first two couplets of the PS. It cannot be ascertained whether the authors of the other recensions have imitated the indecision of the AP. in this matter or independently had their own confusion.

c. The expression *Prākṛte Saṃskṛte cāpi*, scarcely older than the AP. (c. 800 A.C.), has sometimes been erroneously referred to as the earliest mention of the names of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages (e.g. Hari Narayan Apte, *Wilson Philological Lectures* of 1915, Poona, 1922, p.5).

*Svarā viṃśatir ekaś ca sparśānām pañca-viṃśatiḥ |
yādayaś ca smṛtā hy aṣṭau catvāraś ca yamāḥ smṛtāḥ || (4)*

*Anusvāro visargaś ca ḥa-ḥau cāpi parāśrayau |
duḥsprṣṭaś cēti vijñeyo l-kāraḥ pluta eva ca || (5)*

Tr. Vowels are twenty-one, stops twenty-five, the group beginning with *ya* (i.e. semivowels, sibilants and *h*) eight and yamas four; anusvāra, visarga *ḥ* and *ḥ* are dependent on others and the pluta *l* is *duḥsprṣṭa*. [4-5].

NOTE 3. The order in which the different groups of speech-sounds have been mentioned seems to be due to exigency of metre. The twenty-one vowels according to the commentaries, the Pañjikā and the Prakāśa are: a, ā, ā₃; i, ī, ī₃; u, ū, ū₃; r, ṛ, ṛ₃; l; e, e₃; o, o₃; ai, ai₃; au, au₃.

The earliest enumeration of vowels has probably been in the so-called Śiva-sūtras. But there we have only nine vowels, long and pluta ones being altogether omitted. The omission has been discussed before (see Introduction, § 14). The Prātiśākyas are not in agreement with one another as regards the treatment of vowels. The following is a tabular statement of vowels recognized in the extant Prātiśākyas compared with the vowels of the PŚ.

Table I.

Vowels according to the PŚ. and the Prātiśākyas.

| PŚ. | a | ā | ā ₃ | i | ī | ī ₃ | u | ū | ū ₃ | r | ṛ | ṛ ₃ | l | | l̥ | e | e ₃ | o | o ₃ | ai | ai ₃ | au | au ₃ | 22 |
|-------------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|----|-----------------|---|----------------|---|----------------|----|-----------------|----|-----------------|----|
| APr. ¹ | a | ā | | i | ī | | u | ū | | ṛ | ṛ | | l | | | e | | o | | ai | | au | | 13 |
| ṚPr. ² | a | ā | | i | ī | | u | ū | | ṛ | ṛ | | l | | | e | | o | | ai | | au | | 13 |
| TPr. ³ | a | ā | ā ₃ | i | ī | ī ₃ | u | ū | ū ₃ | ṛ | ṛ | | l | l̥ | | e | | o | | ai | | au | | 16 |
| VPr. ⁴ | a | ā | ā ₃ | i | ī | ī ₃ | u | ū | ū ₃ | ṛ | ṛ | ṛ ₃ | l | l̥ | l̥ ₃ | e | e ₃ | o | o ₃ | ai | ai ₃ | au | au ₃ | 23 |
| ṚT ⁵ | a | ā | ā ₃ | i | ī | ī ₃ | u | ū | ū ₃ | ṛ | ṛ | ṛ ₃ | l | l̥ | l̥ ₃ | e | e ₃ | o | o ₃ | ai | ai ₃ | au | au ₃ | 23 |

¹ The APr. according to the commentary does not include the pluta vowels in the Varṇa-samānāya, but admits their existence in the Atharva Veda (I. 105). It is possible that the pluta vowels arose late in the recitation of this Veda.

² In his enumeration of vowels, Uvaṣa (e.g., on ṚPr. I, 14) does not mention pluta ones, though the ṚPr. recognizes them (see I. 16; II. 32 etc.). In the ṚPr. l̥ (also long l̥?) does not enjoy the full status of a vowel. For it can stand neither at the beginning nor at the end (I. 9, 11).

³ The commentaries to the TPr. do not recognize pluta variety of r, l̥ and diphthonga.

⁴ This enumeration is according to Uvaṣa. For his view on ṚPr. vowels see Note 2 above. The first seven chapters of the VPr. are genuine. The last (VIII) chapter seems very much to be a late composition (see Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, p. 65). Hence by VPr. we shall understand the first seven chapters, and the chapter VIII will be designated by the name late VPr. or l VPr.

⁵ The view of the ṚT. as regards the number of vowels it recognizes has been gathered from its vṛtti which might have been built on Andavrajī's work (see Introduction § 40). The recognition of a long l̥ by the ṚT. is curious. PŚ. and other Prātiśākyas do not accept this.

The difference between the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhya is due to their originally different character, for the former was a manual for helping the recitation of all the Vedas or it may have belonged to the one undivided Veda that existed at the very beginning (see Introduction, § 18), while the latter (the Prātiśākhya) were treatises related to the peculiar mode of reciting or chanting one particular Veda, or its many recensions (*tatra sarva-veda-sādhāraṇī śikṣā...Pāṇinīnā prakāśitā. prativēda-śākhyaṃ ca bhinna-rūpā prātiśākhya-samjñitā anyaireva munibhiḥ pradarsitā*, Prasthāna-bheda, Weber's Ind. Stud. I, p. 16). The fact that the PŚ. was accessory to the study of all the Vedas, required that it should be a treatise of general kind and in this respect differs from the Prātiśākhya which related to one kind only of the mantra-text in its different śākhās. Hence we find the Atharva and Ṛk Prātiśākhya omitting from their treatment of vowels the pluta ones which probably arose late in the recitation of their respective mantra-texts. The TPr. includes pluta *a*, *i* and *u* in its treatment of vowels while the diphthongs (*e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*) as well as *r* and *l* have no pluta variety in it.

NOTE 4. *Yamas* are said to be particular nasal sounds occurring before the nasal stops when plosives precede them. The enumeration of *yamas* as four in the commentaries appears to be a bit puzzling; for, according to the definition of the Prātiśākhya and the Nār. Ś. the *yamas* become 20 or 21 in number (see APr. I. 99; TPr. XXI. 12, XXII. 12; RPr. VI. 8). Uvaṭa in his commentary of the RPr. has a defence for both the enumerations. He sums up his first discussion, with *evaṃ viṃśatir yamā bahv-ṛcānām bhavanti sva-rūpaiś catvāra eva tad uttaratra yama-lakṣaṇe vicārayiṣyāmaḥ* (on I. 20) and in discussing the character of *yama* (on VI. 8) he says *tasmād iha 'sparśā yamānananunāsikā' ity ucyamāne viṃśatitvāt sthāninām ādeśānām api yamānām viṃśatitva-prasaṅgaḥ; sa mā bhūt. catuṣām eva yamānām prathamāḥ prathamam dvitīyā dvitīyam evam ā pañcamād āpadyerann ity ucyate*. The sum and substance of what Uvaṭa says seems to be that in pronunciation the *yamas* do

not partake of the characteristics of their respective groups to any considerable extent, hence they are to be called the first yama the second yama and so on, making the yamas four in number. But the Bahv-ṛcas however thought otherwise and gave an extremely logical interpretation to the definition of the Prātiśākhya without caring for its practical aspect (Whitney has a difficulty over the nature and number of the yamas; see his comments on APr. I. 99, TPr. II. 51; XXI, 12; XXII, 12. A great deal of his difficulty is due to the peculiar nature of the TPr.). The late Vāj. Pr., i.e., its ch. VIII (29), has recognized four yamas only though curiously enough Uvaṭa explains their number to be twenty. In the Ṛktantra also (ed. Burnell, p. 2) only four yamas have been recognized. (For more information about yamas see Siddheshwar Varma's 'Critical Studies', pp. 99ff.)

NOTE 5. *Anusvāra*. All the Prātiśākhyas except the Ṛktantra have recognized one anusvāra only. The Pañjikā as well as the Prakāśa recognizes a reading *anusvārau* according to which two anusvāras are available. In this matter the Pañjikā invokes the authority of Audavraji. But the recognition of two anusvāras seems very much to be a late development and did not find favour with the majority of early Vedic phoneticians (Śaikṣikas). It is possibly the author of the spurious verse *tri-ṣaṣṭiś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭir vā*, etc., that has first honoured the view of Audavraji in connexion with the PŚ.

NOTE 6. *Duḥsprṣṭaḥ*. The pluta *ḷ* has been called the *duḥsprṣṭa* or 'touched-with-difficulty.' This may be one of the reasons why some Prātiśākhyas did not recognize this sound (see Table I). But the PŚ. being meant for all the Vedas had to notice this. It should be known that the commentator to the ṚT. recognizes this (see *ibid*). Weber was inclined to understand *duḥsprṣṭa* as a *nāsikya* (Ind. Stud. IV, p. 349). But his view seems to be untenable. The Pañjikā on the authority of Audavraji takes it in the sense of *iṣat-sprṣṭa* (p. 11). For according to the latter, *ḷ* partakes of the character of semivowels which are *iṣat-sprṣṭa* according to PŚ. See also Uvaṭa on RPr. XIII. 3.

*Ātmā buddhyā samarthyārthān mano yuñkte vivakṣayā |
manah kāyāgnim āhanti sa prērayati mārutam ||* (6)

*Mārutas tāsasi caran mandram janayati svaram |
prātaḥ savana-yogaṃ taṃ chando-gāyatram āśritam ||* (7)

*Kaṇṭhe mādhyandina-yugaṃ madhyamaṃ traiṣṭubhānugam |
tāraṃ tārtīya-savanaṃ śiṣṇanyaṃ jāgatānugam ||* (8)

*Sōdīrṇo mūrdhny abhihato vaktram āpadya mārutaḥ |
varṇāñ janayate teṣāṃ vibhāgaḥ pañcadhā smṛtaḥ ||* (9)

*Svarataḥ kālataḥ sthānāt prayatnānupradānataḥ |
iti varṇa-vidah prāhur nipuṇaṃ taṃ nibodhata ||* (10)

Tr. *Ātmā* with *buddhi* perceives things and sets the mind to an intention of speaking; the mind (then) gives impetus to the fire within the body, and the latter drives the breath out [6].

The breath circulating within the lungs creates the soft (*mandra*) tone; this is connected with the morning offering (*prātaḥ-savana*) and rests in the *Gāyatrī* (metre) [7].

(The same breath circulating) in the throat (produces) the middle (*madhyama*) tone and relates to the midday offering (*mādhyandina-savana*) and follows the *Trīṣṭubh* (metre); and the shrill (*tāra*) tone (which is produced by the breath circulating) in the roof of the mouth relates to the third (i.e., evening) offering (of the day) and follows the *Jagatī* (metre) [8].

(The breath which is thus) sent upwards and is checked by the roof of the mouth attains to the mouth and produces speech-sounds (*varṇas*), which have a fivefold classification—according to their pitch, quantity, place of articulation, the primary effort and the secondary effort. So said those who were versed in (pronouncing) speech-sounds. Learn this carefully [9-10].

NOTE 7. *Prātaḥ-savanayogaṃ*. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has the following: *atha mandraṃ tapati tasmāt mandrayā vācā prātaḥ-savane śaṃset* (XIV. 6).

NOTE 8. *Śiṛṣaṇyaṃ*. This is a form allowed by Pāṇini, in his grammar, for the Chandas only (*śiṛṣaṇyaṃś chandasi*, VI. 1. 60). By Chandas the grammarian surely meant the Vedic language¹ as opposed to the current language of his time. There is nothing peculiar in his use of the Vedic language in the Śikṣā which is a Vedāṅga (see also Notes 9 and 18 below).

NOTE 9. *So'dīrṇaḥ*. The peculiar sandhi observable here *saḥ + udīrṇaḥ*) has been supported by Pāṇini (*so'ci lope cet pādapūraṇam*. VI. 1. 134). According to the Kāśikā this sūtra relates to the foot of a Ṛk (*iha Ṛk-pāda eva grhyate*). Hence this also is an indication of the archaic language of the PŚ. (see also Notes 8 and 20).

NOTE 9. *Varṇān*, the speech-sounds (see Note 14 below).

NOTE 10. *Janayate*. The use of Ātmanepada in this verb as opposed to that of Parasmaipada in PŚ. 4 deserves to be noted. But the meaning in both the cases is almost similar.

NOTE 11. *Svarataḥ*. The word *svara* in this place means pitch accents, such as udātta, anudātta and svarita. The translator of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad in the S. B. E. series once translated this word as 'syllable' (I. 4). This is indefensible.

NOTE 12. *Prayatna*. This word means 'primary (*pra* = forward) effort' (*yatna*). Patañjali, however does not seem to be willing to allow such an interpretation (on Pāṇini, I. 1. 9, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, pp. 61f.) But as he has objected to it from a different stand-point we can well have our interpretation. For in articulating speech-sounds, first of all we adjust the different parts of the mouth. This adjustment as opposed to setting the vocal chords to action (which has been termed as *anupradāna*) has been

¹ For a searching enquiry into the meaning of Chandas as used by Pāṇini, see Dr. Paul Thieme's 'Pāṇini and Veda', Allahabad, 1935, especially pp. 67ff.

justly called *prayatna*. This *prayatna* is included in the *āśya-prayatna* of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 9). *Āśya* in this work means 'the place of articulation (*sthāna*) in the mouth' (*āśya*). The use of *āśya* instead of *sthāna* has been meant for brevity (*lāghava*): prolixity should always be guarded against in a sūtra. The *prayatna* in *āśya-prayatna* has been identified with the *ābhyantara-prayatna* by Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita (on Pāṇini I. 1. 9). According to him it is of four kinds: *sprṣṭa*, *iṣat-sprṣṭa*, *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta*. As opposed to the *ābhyantara-prayatna*, he has *bāhya-prayatna*, which is another name for Pāṇini's *anupradāna*, which according to Patañjali consists of the following: *vivāra*, *saṃvāra*, *śvāsa*, *nāda*, (*ghoṣatā*, *aghoṣatā*)¹, *alpa-prāṇa* and *mahā-prāṇa* (on P. I. 1. 9) Kaiyaṣa adds to this three more: *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svārīta*, and Bhaṭṭoji follows the latter in this matter (S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 9). The use of two different sets of derivatives of the root *vr* (such as *saṃvṛta*, *vivṛta* and *saṃvāra*, *vivāra*) in the classification of both kinds of efforts is not happy. Nevertheless it can be justified; for in the case of the *ābhyantara-prayatna*, the root *vr* relates to space between the two parts of the mouth, which touching or coming very close to each other, produce speech-sounds; while in the case of the *bāhya-prayatna*, it relates to the vocal passage where vocal chords are situated.

The fact that Patañjali and his successors use *ābhyantara*- and *bāhya-prayatna* instead of simple *prayatna* and *anupradāna* demands some notice. A change of practice in this matter probably points to the advance of phonetic studies which evidently took place during the time that elapsed between Pāṇini and Patañjali. Some of the early Prātiśākhya-s such as the APr. and TPr. were written in this period (see Introduction, §24).

1. *Ghoṣatā* and *aghoṣatā* are simply synonymous to *nāda* and *śvāsa* respectively. Later grammarians however have taken *ghoṣatā* and *aghoṣatā* as something other than *śvāsa* and *nāda*. Evidently a marginal gloss crept into the Mahābhāṣya as early as Candragomin (c. 600 A. C.), who in his Varṇa-Sūtras has imitated this in using expressions like *nādānupradānā ghoṣavantaḥ* and [*a*]-*nādānupradānā aghoṣavantaḥ*. The mistake involved in the superfluous use of terms has been detected neither by Candragomin or any of his successors like Kaiyaṣa or Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita.

Prātiśākhya very rarely use the terms prayatna and anupradāna. The APr. never uses prayatna, but anupradāna is used in it once (I. 12). In the RPr. each of these terms occurs once (XIV. 10; XIII. 1). In the VPr. prayatna occurs once (I. 43) and anupradāna never. TPr. coins a new word *karāṇa* for prayatna (II. 32, 34, 45; XXIII. 6) and uses prayatna once (XVII. 6, 7), but in the next occasion (XXIII. 2) uses for it the word *karāṇa-vinaya* (adjustment of different articulating organs.) Other Prātiśākhya too use the term *karāṇa* (e.g., APr. I. 18; VPr. I. 75; RPr. VI. 8). Whitney's translation of prayatna simply as 'effort' is vague. Weber's translation of the word as 'Mundbewegung' is however more accurate. Anupradāna is twice used in the TPr. (II. 8; XXIII. 2). The disuse into which prayatna gradually fell seems to have caused the substitution of its radical sense 'first effort' by the more generalized sense 'effort' which without any adjective did not distinguish between the primary (*ābhyantara*) and the secondary (*bāhya*) efforts. As unambiguity and precision of terms is an essential condition in scientific discussion, the post-Pāṇinian phoneticians almost gave up the old terminology and had new terms like *ābhyantara-prayatna* and *bāhya-prayatna* for the simple prayatna and anupradāna respectively.

NOTE 13. *Anupradāna*. The term as we have seen above is equivalent to 'after-effort' or 'secondary effort', which means stiffening or loosening of vocal chords. Whitney translates this as 'emission' (APr. I. 12; TPr. XXIII. 2) and Weber has rendered it by 'Ausstossung' (Ind. Stud. IV, p. 107). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma translates this as 'sound-material', or 'breath-voice material' (*op. cit.*, pp. 3, 9); but such translations though not altogether incorrect are not happy. Whitney, Weber and Varma all seem to have missed the etymological implication of the word. The author of the *Śikṣā-prakāśa* however extends the meaning of anupradāna which according to him includes nasality too (p. 29). This evident innovation seems to have justification from the separate mention of *anunāsikas* in PŚ. 17b. (For other points regarding this word see above the Note 12 on prayatna).

NOTE 14. *Iti varṇa-vidāḥ prāhuḥ*. So said those who were versed in the lore of (pronouncing) the speech-sounds. This evidently shows that there were other masters of phonetics (Saikṣikas) before Pāṇini wrote his Śikṣā. This hemistich does not appear in the AP. It is possible like the PŚ. 14 it has been left out (see Note 28 below). *Varṇa* also means a 'written sign' representing a speech-sound (see Th. Goldstücker, 'Pāṇini : his place in Skt. literature', London, 1861, pp. 34ff.).

The theory of producing speech-sounds as given here recognizes three principal places of articulation : chest (*uras*), throat (*kaṇṭha*) and the roof of the mouth (*śiras*). Patañjali too while explaining *catvāri śṛṅgā*, etc., interprets *tridhā baddhaḥ* as *triṣu sthāneṣu baddhaḥ : urasi kaṇṭhe śirasā*. (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 3)

From the fivefold division of speech-sounds mentioned in the PŚ. 7 we may well expect that each class of sounds will be discussed next one after another. But authors of the inflated versions such as Rk., Yaj., Pñj. and Prk. recensions without paying any heed to this fact have interspersed passages (treating five divisions) with couplets from different sources.

*Udāttaś cānūdāttaś ca svaritaś ca svarās trayah |
hrasvo dīrghaḥ pluta iti kālato niyamā aci || (11)*

Tr. There are three kinds of (pitch) accent : udātta, anūdātta, and svarita. Among vowels short, long and pluta varieties are distinguished by their time (of articulation) [11].

NOTE 15. *Aci*. *Ac* meaning vowels is a pratyāhāra of Pāṇini. The Yaj. recension reads PŚ. 8 as its 23rd couplet.

NOTE 16. The Prk., Yaj. and Rk recensions read the following couplet as the 11th, the 14th and the 2th respectively :—

*Udātte niṣāda-gāndhārāv anūdātta ṛṣabha-dhāvatau |
svarita-prabhavā hy ete śadja-madhyama-pañcamāḥ || (12) ||*

12. Of the seven musical notes *niṣāda* and *gāndhāra* can arise in the high pitch (udātta), *ṛṣabha* and *dhāvata* in the low pitch (anūdātta), while

ṣaḍja, *madhyama* and *pañcama* have their source in the medium pitch (*svarita*).

This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 8. 8) and seems to be original to it; for this work belonging to the Sāma Veda has a direct concern with an elaborate theory of seven musical notes. Besides this the fact that the couplet has been composed in the Āryā metre while the passages common to all recensions are in the Anuṣṭubh seems to create a presumption in favour of its spurious character with reference to the PŚ. Its absence from the AP. as well as uncertain position in other versions probably strengthens this presumption. Hence this has not been included in the reconstructed text.

Aṣṭau sthānāni varṇānām uraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ śiras tathā |
jihvā-mūlaṃ ca dantāś ca nāsikōṣṭhau ca tālu ca || (13)

Tr. The speech-sounds have eight places (of articulation): chest, throat, roof of the mouth (*lit.* head), root of the tongue, teeth, nostril, lips and palate [13].

NOTE 17. The RPr. and TPr. do not recognize any pure dental sound and they place most of the dentals at the root of the teeth and according to the RPr. *urasya* (*lit.* from chest) sounds are existent only in the opinion of others (I. 18). The other Prātiśākhya admit *dantā-mūla* as an additional place of articulation (For details see the Table II).

NOTE 18. The Pañjikā does not comment on the two following couplets. They seem to be irrelevant in the position they occur in the AP., Prk., Yaj. and Rk recensions. But they occur in the Nār. Ś. (II. 5. 4. 9), Yv. Ś. (143-144) and Māṇḍ. Ś. (107-109) too.

O-bhāvaś ca vivṛttiś ca śa-ṣa-sā repha eva ca |
jihvā-mūlaṃ upadhmā ca gatir aṣṭa-vidhōṣmaṇaḥ || 14 ||

Yady o-bhāva-prasandhānam ukārādi-param padam |
svarāntaṃ tādrśaṃ vidyād yad anyad vyaktam uṣmaṇaḥ || 15 ||

Tr. Uṣmans (spirants) have eight ways (of development): change to o, hiatus, ś, ṣ, s, r, jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya [14].

When a word ending in *o* (out of an *ūṣman*) is followed by another word beginning with *u*, the former should be considered as ending in a vowel coming from an *ūṣman* [15].

a. These two couplets, though probably not belonging to the PŚ., seem to be very old. On the antiquity of the first (14), see B. Liebich, 'Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft,' II. § 22. The second couplet is not quite intelligible. Weber is willing to read *akārādi* against *ukārādi* of all MSS. (Ind. Stud. IV, p. 352).

b. The APr. according to its commentator recognizes four *ūṣmans* *ś, ṣ, s* and *h* (I. 31). The VPr. (I. 51). has also the same number. The TPr. adds *χ* and *φ* to these and has six (I. 9). The RPr. has recognized two more: *h* and *m*, making altogether eight *ūṣmans* (I. 10, 12). The reckoning of *anusvāra* as an *ūṣman* seems to be very strange.

Hakāraṃ pañcamair yuktam antaḥsthābhiś ca saṃyutam |
aurasyaṃ taṃ vijānīyāt kaṇṭhyam āhur asaṃyutam || (16)

Tr. When combined with nasal stops (*lit.* fifth ones) and semivowels, *h* should be known (as arising) from the chest; while *h* not so combined is said to be from the throat [16].

NOTE 19. This couplet stands in a wrong place in the Yaj. recension, and the Pañjikā has not commented on it. Besides this it is missing in some MSS. of the AP. Still we have considered it to be belonging to the original PŚ. on the following grounds: (i) *Uras* according to the PŚ. 9 is a place of articulation for some of the speech-sounds, (ii) Indigenous Pali grammarians too have recognized some sounds as *aurasa* (Pali, *orasa* sounds; Minayeff, PGr. p. 2; Geiger, Pāli Lit. und Spr., p. 41), (iii) This couplet PŚ. 10 occurs also in late Śikṣās such as the Lomaśī Ś. (V.9), the Varṇaratna-pradīpikā Ś. (26) and the Yv. Ś. (177). Considering the position of this couplet in these works it does not seem to be possible that it originally belonged to them. The RPr. (I. 18) and the RT (II. 3) too recognize *urasya* sounds.

NOTE 20. *Antaḥsthābhiś ca*. Its feminine gender creates difficulty in construing this with 'varṇa' (masc.) or 'akṣara' (neut.)

in the instrumental plural [understood]. This difficulty was felt by some redactor who changed the expression to *antaḥsthaiś cāpi*. But the genuine original reading might well have been **antaḥsthebhiś ca*, and the late redactor probably finding this Chāndasa form unexplainable by the grammar of the classical Skt., which he thought to have been the language of the PŚ., changed it to *antaḥsthābhiś ca* and brought it within the control of the ordinary grammar, though the new difficulty which arose escaped his notice. The redactor of *antaḥsthaiś cāpi* made it faultless and removed all trace of the assumed original.

Kaṇṭhyāv ahāv i-cu-yaśās tālavyā oṣṭhajā vu-pū |
syur mūrdhanyā ṛ-ṭu-ra-ṣā dantyā ḷ-tu-la-sāḥ smṛtāḥ || (17)

Jihvā-mūle tu kuḥ prokto dantyōṣṭhyo vaḥ smṛto budhaiḥ |
e-ai tu kaṇṭha-tālavyā o-au kaṇṭhōṣṭhajau smṛtau || (.S)

Ardha-mātrā tu kaṇṭhyasya ekārāukārayor bhavet |
aikārāukārayor mātrā tayor vivṛta-samvṛtam || (19)

Tr. A and h are throat sounds ; i, cu (i.e., c, ch, j, jh and ñ) and ś are palatals; u and pu (i.e., p, ph, b, bh and m) labials; ṛ, ṭu (i.e., t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh and ṇ) and ṣ cerebrals; and ḷ, tu (i.e., t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh and ṇ) and s are dentals [17].

Ku (i.e., k, kh, g, gh and ṅ) is uttered from the root of the tongue, and v is a denti-labial sound ; e and ai are throat-palatal, and o and au are throat-labial sounds [18].

The throat element of e and o is half a mātrā and of ai and au is (one) mātrā; these two latter (i.e., ai and au) are open-close sounds (i.e., their first half or the a-element is open and the second half or i- and u- element is close) [19].

NOTE 21. At the time of the Prātiśākhyaś the speech-sounds of the Old Indo-Aryan did not all retain the places of articulation which they had at the time of Pāṇini.

Table II.
Places of articulation for speech-sounds of the OIA as given in the PŚ. and the Prātisākhya.

| | uras | kaṇṭha | mūrdhan | jīhvā-mūla | danta | danta-mūla | tālū | oṣṭha | kaṇṭha-tālū | kaṇṭha-oṣṭha | danta-oṣṭha | nāsikā | nāsikā-gulo |
|--------------------|--|----------------------|------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|---|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| PŚ. | ¹ hā, hā, bā, bā, hā, hā, hā, hā | a, b, | f t, th, d, dh p, r, s | k, kh, g, gh, ā, ā, x ² | l t, th, d, dh, n, l, s | | i c, ch, j, jh, ā, y, ā | u p, ph, b, bh, m, v ³ | e, ai | o, au | v | ā, ā, ā, n, m | |
| APr. | | a, b, h | t, th, d, dh q, h, n, s | r ⁴ k, kh, g, gh, ā, x | t, th, d, dh, n, l, s | r | i, e c, ch, j, jh, ā, y, ā | u, o p, ph, b, bh, m, v | ai ⁴ | au ⁴ | | ditto | |
| VPr. | h | a, b, h | t, th, d, dh q, h, n, s | f k, kh, g, gh, ā, x | l t, th, d, dh, n, l, s | r | i, e c, ch, j, jh, ā, y, ā | u, o p, ph, b, bh, m, v | ai | au | v | ditto | |
| RPr. | | a, b, h ⁵ | t, th, d, dh q, h, n, s | f k, kh, g, gh, ā, x | | r t, th, d, dh, n, l, s | i, e, ai c, ch, j, jh, ā, y, ā | u, o, au p, ph, b, bh, m, v, v ⁶ | | | | ditto | |
| TPr ⁷ . | | h, h | t, th, d, dh q, h, n, s | k, kh, g, gh, ā, x | | r t, th, d, dh, n, l, s | c, ch, j, jh, ā, y, ā | p, ph, b, bh, m, v | | | v | ditto | |
| RT. | h, | a, b, h | t, th, d, dh q, h, n, s | f k, kh, g, gh, ā, x | t, th, d, dh, n, l, s | r | i, e, ai ⁸ c, ch, j, jh, ā, y, ā | u, o, au p, ph, b, bh, m, v | | | | yamas, m | ditto |

¹ H in combination with ā, ā, ā, n, m, y, r, l and v is pronounced in *uras*. ² The PŚ. does not know any mūrdhanya l or lh. This sound is probably a later development due to Dravidian influence (See Introduction § 29. 30). ³ The APr. does not mention the place of articulation of this sound. However the commentator informs us of its articulation. ⁴ See APr. I. 41. and its commentary on the same. ⁵ The RPr. says that h and h are *anasya* according to others (I. 18). Probably the same authorities place r, l and s in *vartaya* (I. 20). ⁶ According to the RPr. *Vedamitra* is the authority who considers q, dh, l and jh, (usually known as cerebral l and lh) as the jīhvāmūlya sounds (I. 21, 22). ⁷ The TPr. is silent about the places of articulation for vowels. ⁸ Ai does not appear in the sūtra 5 of RPr. but it might be due to the corruption of the MSS. As this sound has not been discussed elsewhere in this work we are sure that it existed here.

For details of this variation see the Table II in which views of Prātiśākhya have been compared with that of the PŚ.

Among these, typical is the case of *ṛ* and *r*. According to the Prātiśākhya the first is velar, while they are not unanimous about *r*. But Pāṇini considers *r* to be cerebral (Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7). The fact that *ṛ* and *r* cerebralize, according to Pāṇini (VIII. 4.1) as well as the Prātiśākhya (RPr. V. 11, 20; VPr. III. 85; TPr. XIII. 6-7), the dental sounds that follow them, shows that these sounds were originally cerebral, and Pāṇini testifies to the original state rather than the Prātiśākhya which have *r* as a dental or an alveolar sound.

NOTE 22. *Cu*. It indicates *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* and *ñ*. Appending *u* to the first sound of the groups (*vargas*) of stop consonants for indicating all the five members is a Pāṇinian device used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (*anudit savarnasya cāpratyayah*, I. 1. 69)¹. *Pu*, *tu*, *ku* have been similarly used.

NOTE 23. *Ardha-mātrā tu*, etc. This couplet (PŚ. 13) has suffered very badly in transmission, and its second half does not occur in the AP. Uvaṭa in his comments on the VPr. I. 73, has wrongly quoted its first half as *ardhamātrā tu kaṇṭhasya aikāraukārayor*. It appears that the *s a n d h y a k ṣ a r a s* (diphthongs) *e* and *o* having lost their diphthongal character in later times² this couplet became unintelligible and gave rise to variants of perplexing nature. Weber's reading *kaṇṭhasyādikārdukārayor* spoils the metre, but his conjectural emendation (in translation) of *aikārdukārayor* was a very happy suggestion and finds actual support from the Pañjikā (p. 18). His reading *madhye e-ai* for *mātrā taylor* however cannot be accepted, for it has evidently arisen due to a misunderstanding.

¹ It is on the basis of Pāṇini's use of *pratyāhāras* that Dr. Paul Thieme makes the statement that "it is self-evident that the Aṣṭādhyāyī presupposes the Śiva Sūtras and the Śiva Sūtras presuppose the Aṣṭādhyāyī....." (*op. cit.*, p. 109). The PŚ. can well be substituted for the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' in this remark.

² See Note 1, in p. 64.

All the sandhyakṣaras¹ being long, consist of two mātrās (RPr. I. 16; VPr. I. 57; TPr. I. 35; APr. I. 61). Hence from PŚ. 13 we have the quantitative distribution of the two elements of e, o and ai, au as follows :

| | |
|------------------|---|
| in e (< a + i) | a is $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā ¹ and i is $1\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā |
| „ o (< a + u) | a „ $\frac{1}{2}$ „ „ „ u „ $1\frac{1}{2}$ „ |
| „ ai (< ā + i) | a „ 1 ² „ „ „ i „ 1 „ |
| „ au (< ā + u) | a „ 1 „ „ „ u „ 1 „ |

NOTE 24. The Rk recension reads the following couplet after PŚ. 12. This does not occur in the AP. and Yaj. recensions, and none of the two commentaries comment on it. Hence we have considered it to be spurious.

*Samvṛtam mātṛikam jñeyam, vivṛtam tu dvimātṛikam |
ghoṣā vā samvṛtāḥ sarve, aghoṣā vivṛtāḥ smṛtāḥ ||20||*

Tr. A samvṛta (close) sound is one mātrā long, and a vivṛta (open) sound is two mātrās long ; voiced sounds are all samvṛta while breathed ones are vivṛta [20].

This couplet like other spurious couplets discussed above must be a borrowing from some unknown source. But the substance of the second half of the couplet occurs in the TPr. (*samvṛta-kaṇṭhe nādaḥ kriyate, vivṛte śvāsaḥ* II. 4-5).

¹ Wackernagel (I. § 32), does not admit that all e and o in OIA were originally sandhyakṣaras, i.e., combination of two vowel sounds. His objection is based on e and o not arising out of actual sandhi in OIA. But the Vedic phoneticians in using the term evidently recalled the Indo-Iranian diphthongal character of e and o such as appears in Av. *vaedā* (Skt. *vēda*) and Av. *saotṛa* (Skt. *hōtra*), as well as e and o arising from a combination of a with and u respectively.

² The VPr. (I. 76) only among all the Prātiśākhya expressly recognizes the fact that ai and au have one mātrā for a and one mātrā for i as well as u. From the direction as to the production of ai and au given in the APr. (I. 41) it appears that this latter work too agrees with the PŚ. But as regards the pronunciation of e and o the APr. expressly says that they have only one place of articulation (I. 40) and hence we are to understand that at the time of this Prātiśākhya, e and o no longer retained the trace of their diphthongal character which we see in the PŚ. 13. The VPr. is silent about the production of e and o. The RPr. in its attempt to describe their nature simply mystifies the issue (see XIII. 15-16) Hence it appears that the Prātiśākhya in question are later than the PŚ.

NOTE 25. Next occurs the following couplet in the Rk and the Yajus recensions and it has been commented on in the Prakāśa commentary. But as it appears irrelevant in the present context and contains the term *karāṇa* which as we have seen before is a term of later origin than Pāṇini (see Note 12) we have considered this couplet to be spurious.

Svarāṇām ūṣmaṇām cāiva vivṛtaṁ karaṇam smṛtam |
tebhyo'pi vivṛtāv enau tābhyām aīcau tathādiva ca || (21)

Tr. Vowels and sibilants are open in enunciation ; e and o are more open than they, and ai and au are still more so [21].

NOTE 26. This couplet like other spurious ones must be a borrowing from some unknown source. The substance of the first half of the couplet is available in the APr. *ūṣmaṇām vivṛtaṁ ca, svarāṇām ca*, I. 31. 32). But according to this Prātiśākhya, e and o as well as ā are the most open sounds (*aikārāukārayor vivṛtatamam, tato'pyākārasya* I. 34. 35) and not ai, au as in the present couplet.

Anusvāra-yamaṇām ca nāsikā sthānam ucyate |
upadhmāṇīya ūṣmā ca jihvā-mūlīya-nāsike |
ayogavāhā vijñeyā āśraya-sthāna-bhāginah || (22)

Tr. Anusvāra and yamas have the nose for their place (of articulation); upadhmāṇīya, ūṣman (i.e., visarjanīya), jihvāmūlīya as well as nāsikyas (i.e. the anusvāra and yamas) are ayogavāhas and as such they share the place of articulation of sounds on which they are dependent [22].

NOTE 26a. The hemistich *anusvāra-yamāṇām ca* etc., does not occur in the Yaj. and the AP. recensions (see Introduction § 2). As anusvāra and yamas have been mentioned earlier in the PŚ. (1-2) we have to consider this as belonging to the original text.

NOTE 27. *Anusvāra*. The 'anusvāra-nāsikyah' and 'anusvārah nāsikyah' seem to have been synonymous and probably the original name for anusvāra by which the TPr. (I. 34; II. 30; XVII. 1) understands only a nasal vowel. This meaning of the term was known to the author of Pañjikā too. For he says *svaram anu bhavati ity anusvārah*, 'as it arises after the vowel it is (called) the anusvāra' (5).

The term anusvāra-nāsikya has sometimes been shortened also simply as *nāsikya* or *nāsika*. But this shortening seems to have created some misunderstanding. For example, in the APr. (I. 26)¹ and in the RPr. (I. 20) *nāsikya* has been used to denote sounds pronounced directly from the nose (*i.e.* yamas and the anusvāra)² as opposed to *anunāsikas* (nasal stops)³ which are pronounced in the mouth as well as in the nose (APr. I. 27 and P. I. 1. 8). But in spite of such an use of *nāsikya* some interpolators and commentators of the Prātiśākhya have taken anusvāra and *nāsikya*⁴ to be two different sounds (VPr. VIII⁵ 25, 27, 29; Uvaṭa on VPr. I. 74; Māhīṣeya on TPr. I. 18). But curiously enough in his commentary to the RPr. I. 20, Uvaṭa has explained *nāsikya* as the term including yamas and the anusvāra as well as *nāsikya*.⁶ Though the later writers on Vedic phonetics at times differed from him about the meaning of the term anusvāra, Pāṇini understood by this a nasalized vowel. For he explains the anusvāra as a nasal sound (PŚ, 14) and gives directions as to how it should be correctly produced (PŚ, 15b-16a). The term 'nāsika' which is used to denote a nasalized vowel in the Prātiśākhya has also been used in the PŚ, (14b). Among the western philologists a controversy went on for some time about the correct pronunciation of anusvāra; but

¹ The APr. never uses the term anusvāra. It is from the commentator that we learn that the *nāsikya* is equivalent to yama and anusvāra (see Whitney on APr. I. 26).

² Similar is the view of Patañjali. On Pāṇini I. 1. 8, he says *atha mukha-grahanaṁ kim artham? nāsikā-vacano' nunāsika itiyaty ucyamāne yamānususvārāṇāṁ eva prasajyeta. mukha-grahane punaḥ kriyamāṇe na doṣo bhavati* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 60).

³ The TPr. sometimes takes *nāsikya* in the sense of yama alone (XXI. 12, 14).

⁴ The view that *anunāsika* is equivalent to a nasalised vowel arose probably from a confusion of this word with a somewhat similarly sounded term *anunāsikya* (=nasality) as used in the Mahābhāṣya, *yathā tṛtīyās tathā pañcamā...adhiko guṇaḥ* (ed. Kielhorn, I, p. 61, line 18, 29). Patañjali is clearly against such a view (see Note 2 above). Among the old authorities who seem at times to identify *anunāsika* with a nasal vowel is APr. (I. 53). But the relevant sūtra has probably been corrupt. TPr. once understands by *anunāsika* nasal stops and anusvāra (II. 30. See also III. 129; IV. 3, 9, 13, 51, 90; TPr. V. 26-28, 31; X. 11(?), XV. 1. 6; XXII. 14).

⁵ Weber considers this chapter of the VPr. as a later addition (*opp. cit.*, p. 65).

⁶ *ke te nāsikyāḥ? ity asyām apekṣyām āha nāsikyā yamānususvārāḥ* (ed. Sāmaśramī, p. 80).

among them all Whitney, in spite of the bewildering opinions of the Prātiśākhya or rather the commentaries of such works, could correctly guess the true pronunciation (on TPr. II. 30). Wackernagel however considered him to be mistaken¹ and Thumb² did not venture to give any opinion on the matter.

NOTE 28. *Upadhmānīya ūṣmā ca* etc. This hemistich does not occur in the Rk and AP. recensions. Still, upadhmānīya and visarga being mentioned in the PŚ, 2,³ we can reasonably expect the treatment of their mode of articulation in the Śikṣā. Hence we have considered this hemistich as a genuine part of the PŚ (see Introduction, § 2b). One of the reasons why it came to be ignored in the Rk recension is probably to be sought in the varying later uses of the term ūṣman which in this context surely means visarga⁴ or the final aspiration preceded by a vowel (-h). This term meaning visarga as well as final *h* occurs in the Rk Pr. (I. 22; II. 4). In the VPr. (I. 54), the APr. (I. 20), the Rktaṇtra (16) as well as in some other part of the RPr. (I. 13) the term *sōṣman* has been used to indicate aspirated stops. It seems that by the earlier *ācāryas* visarga as well as aspirated stops, due to their almost similar nature, was included in the term ūṣman. Pāṇini, however, does not use this term because in his grammar, his pratyāhāras evidently served the purpose. By this term the TPr. however means ś, ṣ, s, h, χ and φ (I. 9), and curiously enough the RPr. also means by the term same sounds in I. 12; and in the Chapter VIII (considered to be a late addition by Weber) of the VPr. we understand by the term ś, ṣ, s and h (sūtra 22, ed. Weber).

NOTE 29. *Ayogavāha*. This term has been variously explained, and Weber felt a difficulty over its correct interpretation

¹ Altindische Grammatik, Vol. I (§ 223), p. 257. In the opinion of Prof. Liders the anusvāra of the TPr. is anything but a nasal vowel (see Die Vyāsa-Ūkṣhā, p. 51).

² Handbuch des Sanskrit, § 54.

³ This couplet occurs in all the recensions of the PŚ, and must have formed a part of the original work.

⁴ Weber, Ind. Stud., IV, pp. 112, 325, also VIII, p. 212.

(*op. cit.*, p. 354). According to the Pañjikā it means (15) *na vidyate yogah varṇāntareṇa yeṣāṃ te ayogavāhāḥ*: Those sounds which do not combine with other sounds are ayogavāhas. This definition does not convey any meaning to us. Uvaṭa says *akārādinā varṇa-samāmnāyena saṃhitāḥ santaḥ etc vahanty ātmalābham prāpnuvanty ayogavāhāḥ* (on VPr. VIII. 8): They are ayogavāhas because they attain their selves when combined with sounds like *a* (i.e. vowels). Similar is the view of the commentātor of the Pratiññā Sūtra on II. 1 (see Benares ed.). This explanation too does not satisfy us and seems to be rather fanciful. Patañjali who is earlier and more authoritative than the writers mentioned above defines the term as *yad ayuktā vahanty anupadiṣṭāś ca śrūyante* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 28): 'Those sounds which are heard even though they have not been included in the Varṇa-samāmnāya (or the so-called Śiva-sūtras).' Besides these there are other interpretations of the term by late authorities, but it will scarcely be of any use to discuss them. The explanation given by Patañjali can be followed without any scruple.

Alābu-viṇā-nirghoṣo'danta-mūlyah svarānugah |
anusvāras tu kartavyo nityaṃ hroḥ śa-ṣa-seṣu ca || (23)

Tr. The anusvāra after the vowels not pronounced at the root of the teeth, should be made sonorous like the sound of an *alābu-viṇā*, but when it stands before *h*, *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* this pronunciation is compulsory [23].

NOTE 30. All the recensions except the AP. contain the above couplet. The anusvāra being a frequent sound in Vedas and the classical Skt. it appears very much likely that Pāṇini gave attention to it. Besides this for interpreting *śaṣaseṣu ca* we must invoke the help of Pāṇini's Paribhāṣā *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* (I. 1. 66). This also may be taken to show that this couplet belongs to the original PŚ.

NOTE 31. From this passage we derive a hint about an alternative pronunciation which the anusvāra had before stops. This alternative pronunciation has been provided for by Pāṇini in his grammar (*anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ, vā padāntasya*. VIII. 4. 58,59)¹ and it is equivalent to the pronunciation of what according to Prof. S. K. Chatterji is a 'reduced' nasal occurring also in the late Middle Indo-Aryan (*op. cit.*, p. 360).

NOTE 32. *Nirghoṣo' danta-mūlya* should be taken as *nirghoṣo + adantamūlya*.

NOTE 33. The next couplet occurs in the Ṛk recension only.

*Anusvāre vivṛtyām tu virāme cākṣara-dvaye |
dvir oṣṭhau tu vigrhṇīyād yatrāukāra-vakārayoh || (24)*

Tr. In the anusvāra, hiatus, virāma and double consonant the two lips should be separated as also in case of au and v [24].

NOTE 34. This couplet has been taken from the Lomaśi S. (III. 7) where it is fully relevant. The reading *atraukāra* in the Ṛk recension is evidently corrupt. Due to this corrupt reading Weber had a difficulty over the passage (*op. cit.*, p. 361). The following couplet occurs next in the Ṛk recension. In the Yaj. it is no. 20. The Prakāśa comments on it though the Pañjikā passes over it, and some versions of AP. does not know it.

*Vyāghrī yathā haret putrān damṣṭrābhyām na ca pīdayet |
bhītā patana-bhedābhyām tadvad varṇān prayojayet || (25)*

Tr. As the tigress carries her cubs between two (rows of) teeth taking care lest they should either be dropped or bitten, so should one pronounce the (Vedic) speech-sounds lest they should be dropped (i.e. elided) or differentiated (i.e. mis-pronounced) [25].

There is pun in the words *patana* and *bheda*. The fact that the couplet mentions the dropping of varṇas in the Vedic recitation shows that the upper limit to the date of the composition of the couplet is c. 200 B. C. when the

¹ 'The anusvāra followed by consonants other than ś, ṣ, s and h is changed to the *avarga* (homogeneous nasal sound) of the following sound; the possible homogeneous sounds in the above case are ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n and m. This rule is optional when the anusvāra stands at the end of a word.'

tendency to drop intervocal stops as in the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī or the late phase of Saurasenī,¹ was already beginning. This couplet occurs in the Yv. S. (195) and the Māṇḍ. S. (48) too. We are not sure whether it originally belonged to the Yv. S. or the Māṇḍ. S., but it is sure that the couplet did not form a part of the PŚ. which may go back to a time earlier than 500 B. C. (see Introduction, § 36).

NOTE 35. The following couplet occurs next in the Ṛk recension and in the Yāj. recension it is no. 6. Of the two commentaries, only the Prakāśa touches it. AP. omits it.

*Yathā Saurāṣṭrikā nārī takrā^u ity abhibhāṣate |
evam raṅgaḥ prayoktavyāḥ khearā^u iva khedayā || (26)*

The couplet as it stands in the Ṛk and the Yāj. recension and in the Prakāśa seems to be corrupt. The true reading may be that of the Nār. S. The Māṇḍ. S. and the Yv. S. gives the couplet in a developed form.² The purport of the couplet in all the above different forms is that the raṅga is the nasalization of a vowel.

NOTE 36. Next occur the four following couplets in the Ṛk recension only.

*Raṅga-varṇān prayuñjīran no graset pūrvam akṣaram |
dīrgha-svaram prayuñjīyāt paścān nāsikyam ācaret || (27)*

Tr. In pronouncing the raṅga sound one should not swallow up the preceding sound ; the preceding vowel should be uttered long and then the nasal sound should be uttered [27].

This couplet occurs in different Sikṣās. It is difficult to say where the couplet originally stood,³ but it is sure that it came in the PŚ. from another source.

*Hṛdaye caikamātras tu ardha-mātras tu mūrdhani |
nāsikāyām tathārdham ca raṅgasyaiva dvimātratā || (28)*

¹ See the present writer's 'Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Saurasenī,' Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, XXIII (1933).

In the Nār. S. (II. 4. 9) this couplet occurs with variants nāry drām ity, raṅgaḥ prayoktavyo Nāradasya matam yathā. In the Māṇḍ. S. (112) it occurs with the variants : nārī arā ity raṅgaḥ prayoktavyāḥ nakāra-parivivarjitā. The Yv. S. (190) however reads it almost like the Māṇḍ. S.

² This couplet occurs in a slight different form in the Yv. S. (189) and the Lomaśi S. (I. 8). The Māṇḍ. S. 110 can also be compared with this.

*Hṛdayād utkaṭe tiṣṭhan kāṁsyena samanuvāraṇaḥ |
mārdavaṁ ca dvi-mātraṁ ca jaghanvā² 2 iti nidarśanam ||* (29)

Tr. In the heart (i.e. chest) there should be one mātrā and half a mātrā in the roof of the mouth and another half in the nostril. These are two mātrās of a raṅga sound [28].¹

A raṅga sound rising from (lit. existing in) the heart (i.e. chest) has a sound like that of the bellmetal (bronze), (and it has) softness and is two mātrās long. Its example is jaghanvā² 2 [29].²

*Madhye tu kampayet kampam ubhau pārśvau samo bhavet |
saraṅgaṁ kampayet kampam rathīvēti nidarśanam ||* (30)

Tr. The kampa should be made in the middle and its two sides should be made equal and the kampa should be accompanied by a raṅga. Its example is rathīva [30].

NOTE 37. The meaning of the passage is not clear. This couplet appearing only in the Ṛk recension and not being relevant with couplets which are undisputedly genuine we have considered it spurious. This, like other spurious passages, occur probably in some text not yet brought to light.

NOTE 38. Next occurs the following couplet which has not been commented on in the Panjikā though other recensions include it.

*Evam varṇāḥ prayoktavyā nāvyaḥ na ca pīditāḥ |
samyag-varṇaprayogaṇa brahma-loke mahīyate ||* (31)

Tr. The speech-sounds should be pronounced like this. On uttering them in the proper manner one attains elevation in the world of Brahman [31].

NOTE 38a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. S. (II. 8. 31) and also in the Māṇḍ. S. (44) and might have originally belonged to any of these works. It does not fit in with those stanzas of the PŚ. which occur in all recensions and are undoubtedly genuine.

¹ With the above couplet may be compared the Lomaśī S. I. 7. This passage seems to be corrupt.

² This couplet occurs in the Nār. S. (II. 4. 8) with some variation. In the Māṇḍ. S. (113) too this occurs in a varying form. Whatever be the true reading of the couplet it is sure the PŚ. in its original form did not contain it.

NOTE 39. In the Yaj. recension the above couplet is succeeded by the following one :

*Abhyāsārthe drutām vṛttiṃ prayogārthe tu madhyamām ।
śiṣyānām upadeśārthe kuryād vṛttiṃ vilambitām ॥ (31a)*

Tr. In memorizing the Vedas one should make his reading quick but in applying the same in rituals the recitation should be of medium speed, while at the time of instructing pupils, the Vedic passages should be recited slowly [31a].

NOTE 39a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 6, 21) and Yv. Ś. (54) and in a slightly different form it occurs also in the Māṇḍ. Ś. (8). It seems that the couplet occurred originally in the Nār. Ś.

NOTE 40. The next six couplets occur in the Ṛk recension only. They are being taken up serially.

*Gītī śīghrī śīraḥ-kampī tathā likhita-pāṭhakah ।
Anarthajño 'lpa-kaṇṭhaś ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhakādhamāḥ ॥ (32)
Mādhuryam akṣara-vyaktiḥ padacchedas tu susvaraḥ ।
dhairyaṃ laya-samartamaṃ ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhake guṇāḥ ॥ (33)*

Tr. Those who recite the Veda in a singsong manner, (too) quickly, with a nodding of the head, use a written text at the time of recitation do not know the meaning of passages read, and have a low voice, are six kinds of bad reciters. Sweetness, clearness, separation of words, right accent, patience and ability to observe time are six merits in a reciter [32-33].

NOTE 40a. These two couplets occur in the Yv. Ś. (198-199) and seem to have occurred there for the first time.

*Saṅkitam bhītam udghuṣṭam avyaktam anunāsikam ।
kāka-svaraṃ śirasigaṃ tathā sthāna-vivarjitam ॥ (34)*

NOTE 41. In the Nār. Ś. (I. 8. 11-12) this couplet together with another enumerates the fourteen faults of the Vedic chant. A translation of the two couplets are given below.

Shyness, fear, extreme loudness, indistinctness, undue nasalisation, repressed tone, undue cerebralization, non-observance of the places of articulation (in general) and (proper) accent [34], and

harshness, creating undue separation between words, uneven tone hastiness, want of due palatalisation : these are the fourteen faults in the Vedic chant.

NOTE 41a. These two couplets occur also in the Yv. S. (26-28) but they relate there to faults of recitation (*pāṭha-doṣa*) instead of the faults in chant (*gīti-doṣa*) of the Nār. S. But as the couplets in this latter work have been preceded by the expression *bhavanti cā' tra ślokāḥ* they are surely quoted there from some earlier work. It is probable that the couplets in question occurred in the Yv. S. first.

Upāṃśu daṣṭaṃ tvaritaṃ nirastaṃ
vilambitaṃ gadgaditaṃ pragītaṃ |
niṣpīḍitaṃ grasta-padākṣaraṃ ca
vaden na dīnaṃ na tu sānunāsyam || (35)
Prātaḥ paṭhen nityam uraḥ-sthitena
svareṇa śārdūla-rutōpamena |
madhyan-dine kaṇṭha-gatena caiva
cakrāhva-saṃkūjita-sannibhena || (36)
Tāraṃ tu vidyāt savane tṛtīye
śiro-gataṃ tac ca sadā prayojyam |
mayūra-haṃsānyabhṛta-svarāṇāṃ
tulyena nādena śiraḥ-sthitena || (37)

Tr. One should not recite a Vedic passage in under-tone, between one's teeth, quickly, haltingly, slowly, with a hoarse voice, in a sing-song manner, with repressed voice, omitting (occasionally) words and syllables and in a plaintive voice [35].

In the morning (the Vedic student) should read (mantras) with a voice from the chest, which should be (as deep-toned) as the growl of a tiger. In the midday he should read it with voice from his throat, which should be like that of a *cakravāka*. In the third *savana* (i.e. the evening offering) he should recite it in the highest pitch from the roof of his mouth and his voice should be like that of a peacock, goose or cuckoo [36-37].

NOTE 41b. These couplets occur also in the Māṇḍ. S. (41-42) but we are not sure whether they originally belonged to this work.

Aco'sprṣṭā yaṇas tv iṣan nema-sprṣṭāḥ śalaḥ smṛtāḥ |
śeṣāḥ sprṣṭā halaḥ proktā nibodhānupradānataḥ || (38)

Tr. The vowels are without touch, semi-vowels slightly touched, ś, ṣ and s are half-touched sounds, and the remaining consonants are touched (i.e. stops) [38].

NOTE 42. The° degree of touch in this connexion is with regard to the cavity of the mouth or rather the space between the two parts of the mouth which touch or approach each other before speech-sounds are produced.

Ñamo' anunāsikā nahro nādino ha-jhaṣaḥ smṛtāḥ |
īṣan-nādā yaṇ-yaśaś ca śvāsinaś tu kha-phādayaḥ || (39)
Iṣac-chvāsāṃś caro vidyād gor-dhāmatat pracakṣate |

Tr. *Ñam* (i.e. ñ, ṇ, m, ṇ, and n) are produced through nose, and h except when it is combined with r ; and *jhas* (i.e., gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh) are voiced, semivowels (y, r, l, v) and *jas* (i.e., j, b, g, ḍ, d) slightly voiced, the group beginning with kh and ph (i.e., kh, ch, ṭh, th and ph) breathed, *car* (i.e., k, c, ṭ, t, p) slightly breathed. This has been called the basis of speech [39-40a].

NOTE 43. The hemistich 39a seems to have created difficulty from very early times. The Pañjikā (19) explains the passage first with the reading *ñamo* and this seems to be the right reading. The second reading discussed in it could not have been original in spite of its quoting Śaunaka's *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya*.

NOTE 44. In the Amoghanandinī, Ś. 40, we have *hakāro rephasamyukto nādir bhavati nityaśaḥ* : 'h combined with r is always as a voiced sound. The true nature of the *nahro* has not been marked by the author of the Pañjikā. He seems to have been misled by a wrong apprehension of the testimony of the Amoghanandinī Ś.

NOTE 45. The terms *nādī*, *īṣannāda*, *śvāsī*, *iṣac-chāsa* stand for voiced aspirate, voiced non-aspirated, unvoiced aspirate, unvoiced non-aspirated respectively. The term *īṣan-nāda*

practically mean having *śvāsa* as well as *nāda* or *ubhayātmaka* i.e., *śvāsa-nāda*tmaka. Hence in the RPr. (XIII. 2) we have terms like *śvāsa*, *nāda* and *śvāsa-nāda*. The TPr. (II. 9) however uses *śvāsanāda* in case of *ha-kāra* and seems to describe it as a sound midway between voiced and unvoiced (II. 6) and at the same time calls it voiced (I. 13).

NOTE 46. The following couplet occurs in the Yaj. recension (38). The Rk recension gives only the first half of it.

Dākṣīputraḥ Pāṇinir yasenēdaṃ vyāhṛtaṃ bhuvi || (40)
ratnabhūtaṃ idaṃ śāstraṃ pṛthivyāṃ saṃprakāśitaṃ (40a)

Tr. By Pāṇini, the son of Dākṣī, who has promulgated in this world this science which is as it were a jewel, has also revealed it to the world (for the first time) [40-40a].

NOTE 46a. The PŚ. has been called the *mūlāgama* in the Indian tradition (S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 5). This spurious verse which may be very old seems to follow this. There is scarcely any doubt about the importance attached to phonetics by the ancient Hindus. Patañjali too stresses the importance of the subject in the following terms: *tebhyas tatra sthāna-karaṇānu-pradānājñebhyo vaidikā śabdā upadiśyante* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 5). 'Those who are acquainted with the places of articulation and manner of adjusting vocal organs accordingly were taught the Vedic text.'

NOTE 47. The following nine couplets occur in the Rk recension only:

Chandaḥ pādau tu vedasya hastau kalpo'tha paṭhyate |
jyotiṣāṃ ayanam cakṣur niruktaṃ śrotram ucyate || (41)
Śikṣā ghrāṇam tu vedasya mukham vyākaraṇam smṛtam |
tasmāt sāṅgam adhītydīva brahmaloke mahīyate || (42)

Tr. (First) Metrics which is the two legs (of the Veda) is read and then the Kalpa which is its two hands. The Science of the Movement of luminaries (Astronomy) is its eyes, and the Nirukta is called its ears; the Śikṣā is the nose of the Veda, and Grammar is its mouth. It is for this reason that one studying the Veda with all its limbs (i.e. accessory studies) attains a high position in the realm of Brahman [41-42].

*Anudātto hr̥di jñeyo mūrdhny udātta udāhṛtaḥ |
svaritaḥ karṇa-mūlīyaḥ, sarvāsye pracayaḥ smṛitaḥ || (48)*

Tr. Anudātta is to be known in the chest (lit. heart), udātta at the root of the ear, and pracaya in the entire mouth.

NOTE 47c. This passage has not been traced in any of the available Siksās. Perhaps it has been taken from some S. which has not yet come to light [48].

*Cāṣa tu vadate mātṛaṃ dvi-mātṛaṃ tv eva vāyasaḥ |
śikhī rauti tri-mātṛaṃ tu nakulas tv ardha-mātṛakam || (49)*

Tr. The cāṣa gives out one mātṛā and the crow two mātṛās, the peacock three mātṛās and the mungoose only half of a mātṛā [49].

NOTE 47d. This passage occurs in the Lomaśī S. (VIII. 9), the RPr. (XIII. 20) and with slight variation in the Yv. S. (15-16) and in the Māṇḍ. S. (138), but it seems to have occurred first in some of these Siksās and not in the PŚ.

NOTE 48. The following two couplets occur in the AP., Rk and Yaj. recensions, and the Prakāśa comments on them.

*Kutīrthād āgataṃ dagdham apavarṇam ca bhakṣitam |
na tasya parimokṣo'sti pāpāher iva kilviṣāt || (50)
Sutīrthād āgataṃ vyaktaṃ svāmnāyyaṃ suvyavasthitam |
susvareṇa suvaktreṇa prayuktaṃ brahma rājate || (51)*

Tr. In the repetition of that which has come from a bad ācārya, that which is indistinct (lit. burnt), mispronounced, from the faulty text there is no deliverance from its demerit as from the snake-like sin [50].

But in repeating with good accent and voice (lit. mouth) that which has come from a good ācārya, and is distinct, from the good text and is well established, the Veda shines [51].

NOTE 48a. These two couplets occur in the Nār. S. (II. 8. 10, 11) and the Māṇḍ. S. (160, 159). It seems that they occurred for the first time in the Nār. S.

NOTE 49. In the Yaj. and AP. recensions the following couplets occur after the passages given above.

*Na karālo na lambōṣṭho nāvvyakto nānunāsikaḥ |
gadgado baddhajihvaś ca prayogān vaktum arhati || (51a)*

Tr. One ought not to repeat mantras with teeth shown, lips unduly protruded and with indistinct, unduly nasalised and half choked-up voice and immobile tongue [51a].

NOTE 49a. This couplet occurs in the NŚ. (II. 8. 12), the Māṇḍ. Ś. (156) and the Yv. Ś. (25). It seems to have occurred originally in any of these.

NOTE 50. The following couplet occurs in the Ṛk recension and the Pāṇi comments on it. Though the Prakāśa quotes it we are not sure whether the author reads it in the text of the Sikṣā. (For further notes on this point see below.)

*Mantra hīnaḥ svarato varṇato vā
mithyā prayukto na tam artham āha |
sa vāg-vajro yajamānaḥ hinasti
yathēndraśatruḥ svarato 'parādhāt || (52)*

Tr. A mantra uttered either with a defective accent or pronunciation is badly done and it does not carry the proper sense. And it is like a thunderbolt of speech and kills the yajamāna just as 'Indraśatruḥ' did on account of its wrong accent [52].

NOTE 50a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 1. 5) and the Amoghanandini Ś. (122). Besides this the couplet occurs in the Mahābhāṣya with a variant *duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ* for *mantra hīnaḥ* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 2).

NOTE 51. The following couplet occurs next and in the Ṛk recension only.

*Avākṣaram anāyusyaṃ visvaram vyādhi-pīḍitam |
akṣatā(ra?)-śastra-rūpeṇa vajram(?) patati mastake || (53)*

Tr. (When a mantra is) deficient in a syllable it tends to diminish life, and (when it is) lacking in proper accent it makes the reciter troubled with illness, and the syllable (wrongly treated) will strike one at the head as a thunderbolt [53].

NOTE 51a. This corrupt couplet has not been traced anywhere. It may be a late composition in imitation of the preceding couplet.

NOTE 52. The two following couplets occur next in the Ṛk recension and there only.

*Hasta-hīnaṃ yo'dhīte svara-varṇa-vivarjitaḥ |
R̥g-Yajur-Sāmabhir dagdho viyonim adhigacchati || (54)*

Hastena vedam yo' dhīte svara-varṇārtha-samyutam |
Ṛg-Yajuh-Sāmabhiḥ pūto brahma-loke mahīyate || (55)

Tr. If anybody reads (the Veda) without a show of hands and does not observe proper accents and places of articulation Ṛk, Yajus and Sāman burn him and (on death) he attains rebirth as an inferior animal [54].

And a person who reads the Veda with a show of hands, observes proper accent and places of articulation and knows the meaning of what he reads is purified by the Ṛk, Yajus and the Sāman and is placed high in the realm of Brahman [55].

NOTE 52a. These two couplets with slight variation occur in the Yv. Ś. (40. 44) and the Māṇḍ. Ś. (31-32, 33-34). It is possible that the Ṛk recension has adapted them from any of these.

NOTE 53. The two following couplets occur in the Yaj. and the Ṛk recensions and have been commented on by the Pāṇjikā and the Prakāśa:

Samkaraḥ sāmkarīm prādād Dākṣī-putrāya dhimate |
vāṇmayebhyaḥ samāhṛtya devīm vācam iti sthitiḥ || (56)
Yenākṣara-samāmnāyam adhiḡamya Maheśvarāt |
kṛtsnam vyākaraṇam proktaṁ tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ || (57)

Tr. Drawing the divine words from the entire domain of speech (vāṇmaya) Saṅkara gave this, his science (Sāṅkarim) to the wise son of Dākṣī. This is its basis [56].

Homage to that Pāṇini who having received the traditional lore of speech-sounds (Varṇa-samāmnāya) from Siva has told us the entire grammar [57].

NOTE 53a. These two couplets do not occur in the AP. rec. and 57 is wanting in the Prk. As to the authorship of the so-called Sivasūtras, which is clearly mentioned in them, there is a great divergence of opinion. But it is possible that even if Pāṇini was not their author he was at least responsible for their present form (for details see Introduction, §§ 12-15).

NOTE 54. The two following couplets occur in the Ṛk recension only:

Yena dhautā girāḥ puṁsām vimalaiḥ śabda-vāribhiḥ |
tamaś cājñānaḥ bhinnam tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ || (58)
Ajñānāndhasya lokasya jñānāñjana-śalākayā |
cakṣur unmilitam yena tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ || (59)

Tr. Homage to that Pāṇini who has washed off the human speech with pure water of words and has pierced through the gloom of ignorance [58].

Homage to Pāṇini who has opened with the collyrium pencil of knowledge the eyes of people blind with ignorance [59].

NOTE 54a. These two couplets, have not been traced in any available Sikṣā, but the second one seems very much to be an adaptation of the opening śloka of a not very old tract called the Guru-gītā. In the latter work we have *Sri-gurave* for *Pāṇinaye*.

NOTE 55. The next couplet occurs in the Yaj. and the Ṛk recensions and both the commentaries have touched it. But AP. does not contain it.

Trinayana-mukha-niḥśṛtām imāṃ
ya iha paṭhet prayataḥ sadā dvijah |
sa bhavati paśu-putra-kīrtimān
sukham atulaṃ ca samaśnute divi divīti || (60)

Tr. Those among the twice-born who always devoutly read this (work) which has come out of the mouth of Siva (lit. three-eyed one) obtains cattle, progeny, fame and will attain happiness in heaven [60].

NOTE 56. This couplet again ascribes the whole work to Siva, though from some of the spurious couplets we have, already learnt this. But the fact that this work goes in the name of Pāṇini and not in that of Siva—in which case it would have had a name like the *Saiva* or *Siva Sikṣā*, seems to give strong grounds for considering this story as an apocryphal one.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

| | | | |
|----------|---------|---------------------------|-------------|
| Page xii | Line 23 | for and | read before |
| | 24 | „ it | „ the Yaj |
| xvi | 9 | „ re | „ re- |
| | 19 | „ more than | „ nearly |
| | 22 | „ | omit twenty |
| | 26 | „ eleven | read ones |
| | 29 | after the fullstop read : | |

In his commentary to the PŚ. (Benares, Samvat 1990) Pandit Kālīprasād Miśra thinks that Rk. 31, 37, 48, 54 and 55 are spurious (p. 27), while another recent editor Pandit Rudraprasād Śarmā in his commentary to the same work (Chowkhamba, Benares, 1937) considers Rk. 28, 33, 34, 44, 54 and 55 to be spurious (see his comments on these).

| | | | |
|---------|--------------------|-----------------|---|
| xx | line 18 | for was | read were |
| xxii | 6 | „ followiug | „ following |
| xxiii | 11 | from the bottom | |
| | | for lie | „ lies |
| xxvi | footnote line 2 | | „ op. cit., pp. 18-19. |
| | „ „ 3 | | „ svaraśo |
| xxix | „ „ 9 | for (op. cit.) | „ (Pāṇini and the Veda, p. 109). |
| xxx | „ „ 1 | after Sāyaṇa | „ (Introduction to the R̥gveda-bhāṣya, ed. Peter Peterson p. 56). |
| xxxiv | line 2 | | „ (op. cit., p. 12). |
| xxxviii | footnote last line | | „ 4. contra |
| xxxix | line 16 | for the Pr. | „ the TPr. |

Add to the footnote 3 the following :

and Liebich, Zur Einführung, pp. 30 ff. and A.B. Keith, A Hist. of Skt. Lit., pp. xxv, xxvi.

Page xlix line 12 after Pingala read :

Misra evidently under the influence of the commentary Sikṣāprakāśa ascribes the PŚ. to Piṅgala (pp. 1 and 27). Tripāṭhī too does the same (p. 30). Sarmā however refutes the view and quotes Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his support (p. 23).

Last line after the fullstop add : See also Mangal Dev Shastri, RPr., Vol. III, Appendix III (pp. 329-44).

lvii line 24 after the fullstop add : See Mangal Dev Shastri, RPr., Vol. III, p. 141.

lviii Add to the footnote 2 the following :

It came to my notice afterwards that Bhaṭṭojīdīkṣita ascribes the Rktantra-vyākaraṇa to Audavraji. In his Sabdakaustubha he writes : तथा ऋक्तन्त्रव्याकरणस्य छान्दोग्य-लक्षणस्य प्रणेता औदव्रजिरपि असूत्रयत् अनन्यान्त्यसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वस्य गुण इति (Chowkhamba ed., p. 113).

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| lxi | line 3 | read | Piṅgala's Chandaḥ-sūtras. |
| lxii-lxvi | for | Hemistiches | read Hemistichs |
| 9 | line 9 for | गिरस्तः | „ गिरस्तासां |
| | „ 6 „ | जाता | „ ज्ञाताः |
| 10 | footnote 5 | read | 'omit' |
| 11 | line 14 | „ | आश्रयस्थानं ययोस्तौ |
| 12 | „ 15 | „ | कर्त्तृप्रयोज्यानि करणत्वात् |
| | footnote 5 | „ | 'omit' |
| 13 | „ 5 | „ | 'omit' and 'have' |
| 15 | line 16 | „ | किमर्थं च |
| 17 | footnote 7 | „ | 'omits' |
| 30 | line 14 for | हकां | „ हकारं |
| 41 | „ 13 „ | यत्रोकार | „ यथोकार |
| 42 | „ 12 | „ | शङ्कितं |

Page 53 Line 14 after pp. 99 ff. read See also Tripāṭhī,
p. 5 and Miśra,
pp. 28 ff.

65 last line after to PŚ. read :

Tripāṭhī suggests that *dvih-sprṣṭah* and not *duḥ-sprṣṭha* is the correct reading and quotes the Varṇaratna-pradīpikā (15) to support this view (pp. 5 f.). Śarmā contradicts him and considers the reading of the passage in the printed text (in the ŚS.) of the work to be defective (see p. 4). Miśra refers to the above-mentioned passage and quotes another view which reckons weakly pronounced *y* and *v* as *durḥsprṣṭa* (p. 4). The RPr. (XIII. 3) however takes *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* as *duḥsprṣṭa*, but Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri translates *duḥsprṣṭa-karaṇa* as imperfect contact (p. 95 of his RPr., Vol. III).

58 After the Note 15 add the following :

Udātta, anudātta and svarita arise from the peculiar conditions of the body called *āyāma*, *viśrambha* and *ākṣepa* respectively. For the definition of these terms see Miśra, p. 7.

59 line 20 read 'dantamūla'

Add to the Note 17 the following :

Śarmā considers the reading *nāsikoṣṭhau* to be wrong and corrects it to *nāsikaṣṭhau* (p. 7). The grammatical objection raised by him against the accepted reading is valid but the laxity in this matter may be an original feature of the text which was written in the Chāndasa style (*vide* Introduction, 26).

line 4 from the bottom read 'ukārādi param padam.'

60 ,, 1 for (out of ūṣman) is followed by read :
due to sandhi (*prasandhāna*) is followed (in *pausa*) by.
line 3 for coming read : but in other cases the final *o* is
,, 7 after second couplet insert : in its present form.

Page 63 Line 12 after the fullstop read: See Miśra on the couplet 18 (p. 10).

line 6 from the bottom, after the foolstop add:

Miśra has very intelligently ascertained the correct reading (see p. 11, ll. 18-19). Tripāthī too has correctly taken *ekaraikārayor* as the correct reading but his interpretation of the passage is misleading (p. 11, ll. 1 ff.).

64 line 15 read *vivṛta* (open).

„ 21 add after the fullstop the following:

Miśra thinks that the *saṃvṛta* sound mentioned in this couplet relates to half *e* and half *o* (i.e., short *e* and short *o*) and refers to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (pp. 11 f.)

line 6 in the footnote read *i* and *u* respectively.

65 „ 15 add See Taitt. Pr., II, 13, 14; R.L. Turner in Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, III, p. 337; Jules Bloch, *L' Indo-Aryen*, p. 33.

Last line, add the following:

As Śarmā comments on the *Rk.* recension (p. 10) he feels a difficulty about the interpretation of the passage and invokes the authority of the *Śābdaratna* but such a difficulty does not arise when we read *upadhmānīya*, etc., between the two hemistichs of *Rk.* 22,

66 line 14 after '*nāsikya*' add:

(see Mangal Dev Shastri, *R̥gveda Prātiśākhya*, Vol. III, pp. 151-52, Notes on I. 41).

line 4 from the bottom omit T Pr.

„ 3 from the bottom, add the following:

See also Mangal Dev Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44

(Notes on p. 20)

67 line 4 after the fullstop add:

But in this matter Macdonell follows Whitney; see 'A Vedic Grammar for Students,' §§ 10f. 29b, 39.

Page 68 last line add the following :

The Alābu-vīṇā used in modern Indian music was probably invented after the Gupta period, but this should not bring down the date of the above passage. For Alābu-vīṇā mentioned in this passage was in all likelihood a very primitive instrument like our modern *ekatāra* or one-stringed vīṇā quite different from its late development the modern vīṇā. Its very crudity speaks for its great age.

69 line 12 read 'dvir oṣṭyau' and 'yathaukārau.'

„ 20 for does „ do

„ 21 „ 'damṣṭrābhyām'

70 2 after the fullstop add the following :

From what Miśra says we understand that *patana* (dropping) of letters means spirantizing them and *bheda* (or differentiating) is de-aspiration of them (अतोवार्जविणो-
च्चारणे वर्णा मुक्ता भवन्ति न सम्यग् अवगताः सन्ति ककारोऽयं खकारो
वा । न च प्रपीड्योच्चारयेत् येन खकारोऽपि ककारवत् प्रतीयते
(p. 15).

line 4 from the bottom read 'arā^uity' and 'raṅgāḥ'

„ 3 from the bottom „ Māṇḍ.

71 „ 14 add the following :

MSS. read *samau bhavet*. But this is grammatically wrong. Hence we tentatively read *samo*. Miśra explains this as an *ārṣa* usage (p. 17).

line 6 from the bottom, add the following :

Tripāṭhī explains *pīḍitā* as 'pronounced with more breath which lengthens short vowels' (p. 17).

72 line 19 read recitation,

„ 24 add the following :

Tripāṭhī explains '*likhita-pāṭhakaḥ* as one reading from a book written by oneself' and *alpakaṇṭha* as 'one

who has not practised recitation' (p. 18). So does Sarmā (p. 14) and besides this he considers the couplet No. 33 to be spurious (*loc. cit.*).

line 5 from the bottom read the place of.

Page 74 line 2 for ś, ṣ and s read ś, ṣ, s and h.

„ 12 Insert ; (semicolon) after nose and , (comma) after r.

74 line 8 from the bottom read the following :

rephasamyukto' nādir, etc.

line 7 from the bottom read always as an unvoiced sound.

lines 6-4 omit 'He seems to have.....of the Amoghānandinī Śikṣā.'

75 line 9 read *Pāṇinir yas tenedam'*

76 line 14, add the following :

Sarmā considers the couplet No. 44 to be spurious (p. 18).

77 line 5 ff cancel the Note 47c and read the following :

This passage with a slight variation occurs in a late work named the Svarāṣṭaka Ś. by one Ananta (see ŚS., p. 365. Tripāṭhī, p. 25).

78 line 6 for the Pñj. read some MSS. of the Pñj.

„ 8 after the fullstop read :

The original Pñj. probably did not contain this (see p. 22, line 6).

79 12, add the following :

Misra considers couplets 54 and 55 to be spurious (p. 27) and so does Sarmā (p. 21).

ADDITIONAL CORRIGENDA

- Page vi* lines 1 and 3 for London read Lund
xxii line 21 for 700 B.C. read 500 B.C.
lii „ 4 from the bottom, for concludes read suggests,
„ last, read p. clxvii
liii „ 13 insert as if before sitting
55 lines 21-23 omit The translator of.....indefensible.
-

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P.T.O.

~~Manomohan Ghosh~~

~~Phonetics~~

~~śikṣā - Vedaṅga~~

~~Title~~

Śikṣā
Vedāṅgas
Sanskrit Lit — Vedāṅgas

